HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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How Television 'Creates' News

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Recently, a Southern congressman called the major television stations to say that a group of his Negro constituents had traveled all the way to Washington to present him with an American flag and to pledge their support in the Vietnamese war. The congressman suggested that TV coverage of the event would be newsworthy. It would, moreover, demonstrate that not all Negroes belonged to the "Kill Whitey" school.

Not a single TV reporter, cameraman, or representative of the press showed up. They just weren't interested.

But every night, to the increasing irritation of television viewers, the limited time devoted to news is dominated by "civil rights" coverage. Every little demonstration, every tinhorn "leader" is given ample time to deliver his message of hate. As a result, those who want publicity know how they can get it. By preaching violence, they acquire status.

This is not one man's opinion. During the AFTRA strike last March, when TV reporters were on their own picket lines, there was a sudden and marked decline in the protest march and the "civil rights" histrionics.

"Nothing seemed to be happening," a television executive told *TV Guide*. And Cindy Adams, a New York TV glamorpuss, told the magazine that a woman had called her to ask for coverage of a demonstration before the United Nations. The woman offered any number of pickets who would march at any time convenient to the TV station. WABC-TV, in spite of the obvious pitch, covered the "demonstration" anyway.

At a recent "civil rights" meeting, the TV cameramen asked the sparse audience to bunch up so as to give the impression of a big crowd.

"I taught black history and the Movement," exulted H. Rap Brown as he left a school in New York's East Harlem after "teaching" the children for an hour during the recent teachers' strike. Columnist de Toledano notes that extensive television coverage given to such extremists seems to simply increase the civil strife so prevalent in the nation today.

Has television contributed to the spate of riots? Has it aggravated situations that might have remained reasonably quiet? Is it, like the yellow journalism of old, out for the sensational at no matter what the cost? *TV Guide*'s answer seems to be flatly "television, by its very presence, creates news."

That television, which operates at the sufferance of the public which grants it licenses and channels, is not interested in responsible journalism can be confirmed by the words of a police official after the Newark riots.

"We were very disappointed by the behavior of TV crews," a spokesman for the police department told *TV Guide*. "Doubly so, since we had called a meeting as far back as June 23 and invited about 20 news organizations—both local and national—to discuss an informal 'code of ethics' for reporting trouble, should any arise. Three attended the meeting."

This is one side of the coin of TV responsibility. On the other side is the sustained political bias of many television programs. Some interview programs invite guests and panelists of all political views—their single criterion being personality and articulateness. But others systematically exclude potential guests and panelists whose viewpoints are at variance with those of the Liberal Establishment.

This writer was invited to appear on many local programs when his highly newsworthy book, *RFK: The Man Who Would Be President*, was published. But most of the network and syndicated shows—with a few notable exceptions like the Joe Pyne program—either turned him down or canceled at the last minute without any kind of explanation.

This was not a unique situation. Few conservative correspondents in Washington are ever invited to be panelists on the interview programs that feature men prominent in the news. The same group of Establishment correspondents appears week after week, thereby preventing any semblance of balanced questioning.

TV Guide does not touch on this aspect. But its indictment of television's present practices—that it "frequently transmutes a potentially violent situation into an actually violent one," and "that TV stations and networks give too much time to the flashier and more violent extremists—such as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown—whose words foster violence, and not enough to the less theatrical but saner voices of moderation" is a serious one.

If TV "creates news" then it must be held responsible to some extent for the convulsions that have seized our cities. And if TV does not mend its ways, then legislation—however unwelcome it may be—will try to apply a remedy.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● Insiders report that the Nixon organization is becoming increasingly fearful that the former vice president may lose his support to Reagan backers in the GOP. **Friends of Nixon** are telling him he must stake out a conservative position on domestic as well as foreign policy if he expects to head off the California governor.

● Playing a bigger and bigger role in shaping Administration policy: State Department Policy Planning Councilor **Zbigniew Brzezinski.** A big booster of East-West trade, he also "advocates massive U.S. aid and loan programs for East Europe," according to Insider's Newsletter.

● A top administrator of the Civil Service says that a record of close association with **New Left politics** is no bar to a person's being hired by the federal government—even for sensitive posts.

● The liberal Texas Observer reports that LBJ's chances of carrying Texas in 1968 are viewed pessimistically by many of the President's supporters there. The Dallas News says the President is insisting that popular Gov. **John Connally** seek re-election in 1968 to hold the state for the Democrats.

● A special NBC **report on the riots** has uncovered solid evidence that organized attempts for presumably political ends were made to fan and guide the July violence that erupted in Detroit. A star Negro witness, whose identity was purposely obscured by the network, related that he became part of a group that met in a basement after-hours club and was told to break windows and burn buildings. Later, he said, he was sent to a house on the East Side, where he was given a rifle by a white man to fire on National Guardsmen and state troopers. Another Negro witness gave a similar account. Fred Freed, who produced and wrote the program, said he had been led to the two men after months of research and was convinced of the authenticity of their stories.

● Is Atty. Gen. **Ramsey Clark** soft on draft card burners? Crows Gary Rader, an anti-war organizer: "Of the 150 or so men who have burned their cards in New York, only I have been arrested; I don't expect the situation to change much." Rader says the Vietniks have received "unofficial admissions by federal DA's that they do not intend to prosecute most of the draft card burners: they have neither the manpower nor the courts."

● Secretary of State **Dean Rusk** is scheduled to play a major role in next year's presidential campaign by defending LBJ's Viet Nam policies before small private gatherings of influential citizens whose money and support is vital to the Democratic party.

● The **Smothers brothers** are apparently hopping mad at CBS-TV executives for cutting from their show's tape a song by guest artist Pete Seeger, an old-time radical who has been in jail for refusing to tell a House committee whether he has ever been a Communist. The offending song, written by Viet Cong sympathizer Seeger himself, made an unmistakable reference to LBJ as a "big fool" for pressing the fight in Viet Nam, or, as Seeger referred to it, the "Big Muddy." The Smothers brothers insist that dissenting voices just can't be heard anymore and they plan to put Seeger back on to sing "Big Muddy" again. "Maybe we'll sing it with him," they say.

● *The general board of the* **National Council of Churches** last week put some 40 million church-goers on record in opposition to U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam. Meeting in Atlanta, the board also adopted a militant civil rights program that blamed big city riots on "white masters who have long dominated in the ghetto."

● Former State Department official **Alger Hiss,** convicted of perjury when he denied involvement in a Communist espionage apparatus, is in the midst of writing a book on the New Deal. Meanwhile, he is scheduled to give a short lecture course at the New School for Social Research in New York.

● The Manchester Union Leader, a powerful voice in **New Hampshire,** says it favors a 1968 GOP ticket of former Vice President Richard M. Nixon and California Gov. Ronald Reagan—and doesn't care which man takes the top spot.

● A recall effort has been started to remove self-acknowledged Communist **Donald Hamerquist** from his position as a Democratic precinct committeeman in Portland Oregon's East Central Subdistrict. Hamerquist's Red ties were described in the May 6 issue of Human Events.

● A top professor at the University of California at **Berkeley,** who must remain anonymous, says that both student and faculty affairs on his campus are still controlled by the Communists to a significant degree.

● A 42-minute, two-part film strip on the vice presidency, produced by the Harcourt, Brace & World subsidiary, Guidance Associates and distributed to the nation's high schools, has a featured star: Vice President **Hubert Humphrey.** Though the film is supposed to be non-political, the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota has been using it to whip up enthusiasm for the LBJ-HHH ticket at local party gatherings.

● How popular are **open housing laws?** Voters of Toledo, Ohio, in a referendum election recently, repealed a forced housing law by a margin of more than 2 to 1. The vote was 22,798 "yes"—54,619 "no". "This leaves the record intact," noted Realtor's Headlines, the publication of the National Association of Real Estate Boards. "Every forced housing proposal submitted to the people in a referendum has *been defeated, usually by a margin of 2 to 1* or more."

● *The National Committee for Responsible* Patriotism, which is planning **nation wide demonstrations** in support of American soldiers in Viet Nam on October 21-22, has a new address: Commodore Hotel, 109 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y., 10017. Its executive director is author-lecturer Charles W. Wiley.

● The **Church League of America** recently held groundbreaking ceremonies in Wheaton, Ill., for its $100,000 J. B. Matthews Memorial Library, which will house the largest collection of files on subversive activities outside the FBI files in Washington, D.C. The library will *have the extensive records of the Church* League, the recently purchased files of the West Coast publication, Tocsin, and the files compiled by Dr. Matthews during his distinguished career as research director of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and later as an expert in the field of communism.

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Another LBJ Giveaway?

Intent upon surrendering U.S. sovereignty over the Panama Canal, the Johnson Administration is also apparently willing to commit itself to turning over a vast majority of the world's deep-sea mineral resources to the United Nations.

Virtually unknown to the general public, a wide array of important Administration spokesmen and internationalists has been quietly paving the way. They want the United States to support a plan by the island of Malta to give the United Nations control over rich mineral resources on the part of the ocean bottom that lies beyond the offshore area known as the Continental Shelf. President Johnson, himself, has said: "We must insure that the deep and the ocean bottoms are and remain in the legacy of all human beings."

At its summer meeting in Geneva, the World Peace Through World Law Center, headed by Charles S. Rhyne of Washington, former president of the American Bar Association, called for the United Nations to take control of the ocean's resources.

John H. Clotworthy, president of the National Oceanographic Association and a University of Miami (Fla.) professor, says that "Rhyne has told us that the international law organization is doing everything it can to bring the deep ocean mineral resources under the control of the U.N. Furthermore, we have been reliably informed that the move has behind-the-scenes support of our own State Department."

Idaho's Democratic Sen. Frank Church, a delegate to the 21st session of the United Nations, has been the most explicit. On Feb. 15, 1967, Sen. Church, up for re-election next year, proposed that the United States should support "Conferring title on the United Nations to mineral resources of the ocean floor beyond the Continental Shelf, under an international agreement regulating their development."

CHURCH

This giveway of what Church, himself, calls the "great untapped reservoir of the world's wealth" has been justified by the Idaho senator on the grounds that an international agreement giving the U.N. title to the minerals in the ocean's floor, "might not only remove a coming cause of international friction, but also endow the United Nations with a source for substantial revenue in the future." Already pending in the House Foreign Relations Committee is a bill introduced by Rep. Abraham Multer (D.-N.Y.) calling for U.N. control of the sea's floor.

Opposition has been rising from various quarters, largely because many persons feel that the Socialist-dominated United Nations is incapable of administering these vast resources; would hamper the development of the ocean's floor through tangled bureaucratic regulations; and would put in jeopardy current exploration of the ocean's floor by the American government and U.S. oil and mineral companies. Anti-UNers, furthermore, have no wish to provide the world organization with an independent treasury.

National Oceanographic Association chieftain John Clotworthy, whose group represents industry, the scientific and academic communities and the general public, says conferring title on the United Nations "would most certainly stifle the technological development which is permitting us to go deeper and deeper into the ocean in search of its resources."

Spearheading a drive in Congress to blunt the Administration's plans is liberal Democrat Richard T. Hanna, who represents California's coastal Orange County and serves on the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. Hanna, along with other congressmen like Representatives James B. Utt (R.-Calif.) and Tom Pelly (R.-Wash.), has introduced a resolution (H. J. Res. 820) making clear Congress' opposition to giving the United Nations the ocean's minerals. Hanna points out that "blithely giving the U.N. title to the vast resources of the ocean floor would be a tragic and monumental error. . . . The absence of widespread acceptance of a common definition of the parameters of the ocean floor means that discussion of this subject is, at best, muddled with uncertainty and that debate of the subject is virtually impossible. . . .

HANNA

"Of even greater concern to me is the fact that we, the Congress and the American people, do not know the extent of the ocean's resources; nor do we understand adequately the implications of their development for our country. We have not fully considered the full legal and political implications of any such move . . . . We have not, in short, defined what our nation's self-interest is."

Hanna also says: "I am not persuaded that international control of the ocean floor is feasible or desirable. Were I of this persuasion, I would be hard-pressed to justify turning the task of managing one-half of the earth's surface over to the United Nations. This organization's checkered history in dealing with less complicated and sensitive questions calls its capability into question."

• While the Administration presses turning over the ocean floor to the United Nations, the Nashville *Banner* reveals another attempted ocean giveaway. The *Federal Register*, noted the *Banner*, recently carried a notice that the Department of State is proposing to shift the off-shore international demarcation line in the Gulf of Mexico right up to Louisiana's land border.

Currently, the line lies about 12 miles out, and the waters it encompasses are off-limits to foreign exploitation. Traditionally these waters have provided a livelihood for American fishers and shrimpers while vast oil reserves in the area contribute substantial revenue to Louisiana and the nation.

Sponsors of the shift say such an open gate policy would make navigation easier under international law. "Easier for whom?" asks the *Banner*. "Cuban and Communist spy craft disguised as fishing vessels? Soviet submarines? . . ."

Big Spending Demos

Blithely ignoring the fact that the government is faced with a whopping $29-billion deficit and the voter is threatened with a huge tax increase, the Democratic-controlled Congress, aided by renegade Republicans, voted last week for spending measures which, if finally enacted, will only cause further grief for the taxpayer.

The Senate voted overwhelmingly to restore funds sought by LBJ for his model cities and rent supplement programs, while the House, reversing its stand, approved the Administratin's "rat bill."

By a 62-to-28 tally, the Senate O.K.'d a $537-million model cities program, some $300 million above the House-passed version. Sparking the opposition were Senators Gordon Allott (R.-Colo.) and Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio). Both Lausche and Allott called attention to the outrageous fact that a city qualifying for huge sums under model cities legislation would have to put up only 4 per cent of the cost, with the nation's taxpayers picking up the other 96 per cent.

Among those who voted for this boondoggle: William Proxmire, the Wisconsin Democrat who has tried to buffalo his conservative supporters into thinking he favors a tight rein on government spending (Proxmire also voted for the rent supplement program); and Charles Percy (R.-Ill.), a GOP presidential aspirant.

On rent supplements the Senate, by a 59-to-31 vote, restored the full $40 million for this program that had been eliminated by the House.

By a 227-to-17 vote the House passed a $20-million program to exterminate rats in the nation's cities. Passage was possible only because, bowing to pressures from the press, some 40 congressmen who helped vote down the Administration rat bill in July reversed their stands. Major opposition to the bill came from 110 Republicans, but 68 members of the GOP went along with this new spending scheme.

The Senate rollcall on rent supplements and the House rollcall on the "rat bill" will be presented in *Human Events* next week.

• Following is the 62-to-28 rollcall vote by which the Senate on September 20 voted an amendment to increase by $300 million the $237 million House-passed Model Cities bill:

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 62

DEMOCRATS (46): Bartlett, Bayh, Burdick, Byrd (W. Va.), Cannon, Church, Clark, Dodd, Ellender, Fulbright, Gore, Gruening, Harris, Hart, Hayden, Inouye, Jackson, Kennedy (Mass.), Kennedy(N.Y.), Long (Mo.), Long (La.), Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Monroney, Montoya, Morse, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Sparkman, Spong, Tydings, Williams (N.J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (16): Aiken, Baker, Boggs, Brooke, Carlson, Case, Cooper, Cotton, Fong, Griffin, Javits, Morton, Percy, Prouty, Scott and Smith.

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 28

DEMOCRATS (13): Anderson, Bible, Byrd (Va.), Eastland, Ervin, Hill, Holland, Hollings, Jordan (N.C.), Lausche, McClellan, Russell and Stennis.

REPUBLICANS (15): Allott, Bennett, Curtis, Dirksen, Fannin, Hickenlooper, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Thurmond, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

Paired for the amendment: Brewster (D), Kuchel (R) and Hatfield (R).
Paired against the amendment: Tower (R), Dominick (R) and Hansen (R).

The Morse Panel

"LBJ and Wayne Morse have teamed up to set off inflationary wage demands by the nation's unions." That's the way some economists are looking at that spectacular wage package awarded the railway's shop craft unions by a special compulsory arbitration panel whose members were selected by the President. Headed by Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.), normally a faithful labor union ally, the pro-labor board gave some 137,000 workers in railroad repair shops a pay raise of 6 per cent retroactive to January 1; handed them a further raise of 5 per cent to take effect on July 1, 1968; and gave skilled workers four extra raises of five cents an hour each—effective April 1 and October 1, 1967 and 1968.

MORSE

While all five members of the panel—which not only included union-backer Morse but AFL-CIO President George Meany—signed the board's findings and recommendations, Fred Kappel, representing the business viewpoint, wrote some stinging individual views charging that the presidential board was feeding inflationary fires. Said Kappel: "I have signed this Special Board's determination with serious reservations bordering on disapproval. . . . The money amounts included in this determination are excessive in my opinion on several counts. They are inconsistent with the current important need to contain inflation."

They encourage, Kappel added, "resort to governmental procedures, because the wage rates recommended so nearly meet the full demands that caused this dispute from the beginning."

When LBJ selected the board, *Human Events* noted that his reason for picking Morse as its chairman was to give the Oregonian a chance to get in good with labor. Meany union members have been miffed at Morse for his Viet Nam stand and his support of dovish Republicans like Mark Hatfield. By presenting the railway workers with a fat wage package, Morse had hoped to have the AFL-CIO vigorously support him for re-election in 1968.

But even the panel's hefty wage increase may not be working: Last week the state AFL-CIO endorsed Robert Duncan by a 2-to-1 margin over Morse. Democrat Duncan plans to contest Morse in the senatorial primary next year.

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New 'Hate Whitey' School?

The super-militant father of Nashville's infamous "hate Whitey" school has been given a full-time civil rights post with the Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania.

The Rev. James E. Woodruff, whose Nashville Liberation School—decorated with posters of Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X—created a national furor last summer, has been named assistant director of the diocese's department of communications.

The Right Rev. Robert L. DeWitt, Bishop of Pennsylvania, proudly announced Woodruff's appointment as a "giant step in the direction of improved community relations."

"Among the approaches mentioned with Mr. Woodruff are the use of drama, a ministry to migrant youth, the indigenous newspaper, 'rock' radio and special emphasis on the 'black arts,'" the Bishop said.

Woodruff's school was ejected from Nashville's St. Anselm's Church by the Rev. John W. Vander Horst, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Tennessee. He charged that black nationalist propaganda taught in the school was "contrary to our Christian heritage."

The Ladies Wage Peace

Members of the Women Strike for Peace organization hurled epithets at police, got themselves arrested and staged a sit-in outside the White House last week —all presumably in the name of peace. A wild melee occurred when some 80 WSP protestors attempted to join a marching group of some 100 picketers but were barred from doing so because regulations prevent more than 100 demonstrators from being on the sidewalk in front of the White House at one time.

As the ladies surged out of Lafayette Park to bolster fellow protestors in front of the White House carrying anti-Viet Nam posters, they were met by a wall of park and metropolitan police and Secret Service men. "Ladies, please," implored a police lieutenant. "Police tyrants," retorted the ladies. As the Baltimore *Sun* descriptively portrayed them, they were "licking raspberry Popsicles and singing choruses of 'We Shall Not Be Moved.'"

Pressing themselves forward, the women were finally driven back by police, but then decided to stage a noisy 25-minute sit-in in the middle of the Pennsylvania Avenue-Madison Place intersection, taking up Stokely Carmichael's chant: "Hell, no! We won't go."

The ladies—two of whom were arrested—later returned to the park after they were promised they could picket on the sidewalk opposite the White House.

Prior to the ruckus, Women Strike for Peace held a rally on the Ellipse, a grassy area near the White House, and pledged itself to resist the draft and called upon young men to refuse to serve in Viet Nam.

Dagmar Wilson, the founder of WSP and a recent visitor to Hanoi, told about 500 at the rally that "the morale of the North Vietnamese is absolutely superb, and I can understand why. You sit at a table in a dugout and hear those American planes and you want to get up and shoot them down yourself."

Center for Leftists

Congressional probers are busy keeping tabs on the activities of an organization operating out of Room 640, 1133 Broadway, New York City. The office is occupied by the Tri-Continental Information Center, a virtual "mouthpiece," in the words of columnist Virginia Prewett, for Latin American guerrillas, the Viet Cong and the Havana-based Tri-Continental Organization (OSPAAL).

Sponsored by Communists and non-Communists, the center circulates to various groups in the United States a wealth of favorable information concerning pro-Communist guerrilla activities taking place around the world. The chief vehicle for dispensing this material is the center's monthly Bulletin.

Aside from conveying information, the center engages in wide-scale "political" activity, with plans to sponsor a speaking tour in the United States this October by Guyana's militant pro-Communist Cheddi Jagan. Earlier this year the center held a successful "teach-in" at Columbia University Teachers College, featuring SNCC leader H. Rap Brown and Juan A. Silen, president of the Castro-connected, violence-prone Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement.

The center's sponsors include: Donna Allen of Women Strike for Peace; Herbert Aptheker, chief Communist party theoretician; Carl Bloice, writer for *The Worker*; Lincoln Lynch, a leader in CORE; Abe Feinglass of the Meat Cutters and Butchers Union; Prof. Douglas Dowd of Cornell University; Sidney Peck of Cleveland's Western Reserve University; Frank Kofsky of the University of Pittsburgh and the Rev. Willard Uphaus.

Gunning for Reagan

The hatchetmen (and women) of the Fourth Estate are opening up on Ronald Reagan. Some of the same treatment given in the past to Richard Nixon and Barry Goldwater is now afforded the California governor.

Consider the recent column written by the nationally syndicated Marianne Means of Hearst Headline Service. Miss Means reported in detail on a meeting between Reagan and Gov. Paul Johnson of Mississippi. In this closed-door conference, she recounted, Reagan asked Johnson's advice on what strategy he should use for carrying Dixie in his campaign for President. The implication was clear that Reagan was not only planning a race for the White House but was relying upon hard-core segregationists for campaign advice.

The only trouble is that Reagan, who says he is not running for President, has never met Johnson, much less discussed political strategy with him.

Johnson, who was also angered by Miss Means' story, has wired Reagan that he had no part in creating the article, which he said was a complete fabrication.

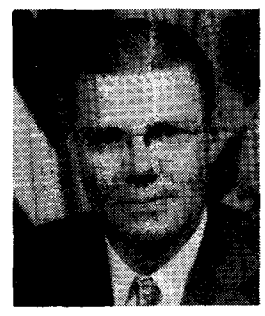
• In a speech last week to a conference of United Press International editors and publishers, Reagan chastised certain segments of the press for betraying their responsibility.

"Sometimes it seems to me," Reagan said bluntly, "that newspapers let their policies get in the way of objectivity and accuracy. Here in California, for example, we have an axis that begins in Los Angeles in the morning and ends up in Sacramento in the afternoon."

Reagan did not name the papers, but it was known he was refering to the Los Angeles *Times* and the Sacramento *Bee*, both of which have used not only their editorial pages but their news columns as well for guerrilla attacks against him.

Our Pro-Soviet Missile

Military and scientific experts were not exactly enthralled by Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara's announcement last week that the United States would go ahead with a $5-billion "thin" anti-ballistic missile system. For, as it was quickly noted, the ABM system McNamara plans to deploy would be effective only against missiles delivered by the Red Chinese, who don't even have an offensive missile system, but would, curiously enough, not be geared toward taking out long-range Soviet missiles, even though the Soviets have a massive missile force in being.



McNAMARA

Obviously imbued with the disarmament philosophy that has shaped America's defense policies under LBJ and JFK, the defense secretary went so far as to say he desperately hoped the United States never would have an effective anti-ballistic missile defense against the Soviets.

"The danger in deploying this relatively light and reliable Chinese-oriented ABM system," McNamara said in one of his more incredible statements, "is going to be that pressures will develop to expand it into a heavy Soviet-oriented ABM system.

"We must resist this temptation firmly. . . ."

The so-called heavy ABM shield, said McNamara, would only be a "strong inducement for the Soviets to vastly increase their own offensive forces . . . and so the arms race would rush hopelessly on to no sensible purpose on either side."

Why, queried logicians, couldn't the same reasoning also apply to the Chinese?

Throughout McNamara's speech there are at least two suppositions: (*a*) the Soviets are not engaged in an arms race; and (*b*) that an ABM system against the Soviets would be ineffective. Military intelligence rejects the first notion entirely. Despite innumerable unilateral disarmament measures on our part, the Soviets have gone all-out to produce a spectacular nuclear arsenal of offensive missiles and intensively develop an ABM system. Indeed, the reliable Institute for Strategic Studies in London reports that the Soviets have nearly doubled its arsenal of long-range missiles this year. As for the effectiveness of the ABM, Defense Secretary McNamara's own figures show that anywhere from 50 to 80 million people could be saved by such a system. And if it is not effective, then why are the Soviets so intent on building one themselves?

Says retired Gen. Thomas A. Lane: "The Soviet leaders are not reluctant warriors. They don't regard the race as futile. They press ahead while Secretary McNamara marks time waiting for the conference he has requested to end the ABM race. . . . They draw confidence from the McNamara mind. They know him to be a humanist with vague aspirations for peace and cooperation; an emotional analyst who will substitute hope for weaponry in order to avoid an arms race and to support the Johnson financing of an expanded poverty program. The evidence is overwhelming that Secretary McNamara shapes his comprehension of facts to the image which his prejudices and political necessities can tolerate. His is a dangerous mind to have in charge of our national security."

Rumania's Manescu

As the United Nations General Assembly elected Rumanian Foreign Minister Cornelieu Manescu as its first Communist president last week, Rep. Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (D.-La.) had this comment on the Administration's astounding endorsement of Manescu:

WAGGONNER

"Communist Rumania openly supports the Viet Cong in its war against South Viet Nam and supports them with strategic materials that are being used, daily, to slaughter American servicemen. The United States is the subject of repeated, vicious attacks in the state-controlled press of Rumania. . . . Even the . . . New York *Times* calls it 'the most oppressive regime in Eastern Europe' . . . .

"Certainly any desire to promote peace will in no way be advanced by having a Communist from an Iron Curtain country as the president of the General Assembly. The only time the U.N. takes any active part in any dispute is when there is a desire to do so on the part of the leadership.

"Thus no action is taken against Communist Cuba, yet sanctions are enforced against Rhodesia; a classic case of activity resulting from selfish interest rather than principle. With a Communist sympathizer [U Thant] as its head and a Communist as president of the General Assembly, there will be absolutely no inclination in the U.N. to pursue democratic principles in the future."

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POLITICS '68

NIXON

If **California Republicans** could decide today who would be the GOP nominee for President in 1968, former Vice President **Richard M. Nixon** would be their choice, according to Don Muchmore's highly respected State Poll.

This is a **dramatic switch** from March this year, when the State Poll reported Gov. George Romney led the field. According to the poll, Nixon now is favored by 28 per cent of the Republicans, while Romney is backed by only 13 per cent. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller gets 13 per cent of the vote and Gov. Ronald Reagan 11 per cent.

The Nixon for President forces have set up campaign organizations in **four presidential primary states**—New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Nebraska and Oregon—to prove to Republican leaders that he can win at the polls. "I have to be dramatically effective in the primaries," he said in an interview. "If I can't demonstrate the ability to win, I've had it."

NIXON

The Nixon people figure their **toughest primary will be Oregon**. Howell Appling Jr., former secretary of state in Oregon and Nixon's manager there, takes an optimistic view, however. He says it is "highly unlikely" that Nixon will run into trouble, adding: "Dick has won every poll in Oregon except the one at the state fair where California Gov. Ronald Reagan beat him."

LBJ

A coalition of New York Democrats opposed to President Johnson and the war in Viet Nam has decided to run slates of **anti-Johnson delegates** to the party's national convention. The dump-LBJ leaders say they have been in touch with highly placed Democrats in a dozen or more states and plan to announce the formation of a national organization opposed to LBJ's renomination within the next few weeks.

Leaders in the anti-Johnson movement in New York are Allard K. Lowenstein, a vice chairman of Americans for Democratic Action; Gerald Rowe, vice president for advertising of the National Broadcasting Co.'s television network; Dr. Martin Shepard, a psychiatrist who is co-chairman of Citizens for Kennedy in 1968; Dwight McDonald, the writer and critics; Jack Newfield, political columnist for the "Village Voice"; Joseph Heller, author of "Catch 22" and several bigwigs from the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and Women Strike for Peace.

ROMNEY

Liberal Republican **Arlen Specter**, candidate for mayor of Philadelphia, has protested to GOP politicos in the city about the scheduled visit of **Gov. Romney**.

So miffed was Specter that he blurted to reporters: "I told them it would **hurt my campaign**, but they said the visit had been announced and could not be cancelled." Specter, currently Philadelphia's district attorney, is opposing Democratic Mayor James H. Tate in the November 7 election. Romney still expects to spend the morning of September 29 in Philadelphia.

• In touring the nation's cities last week, the Michigan governor, who boasts of his civil rights record, fared even worse at the hands of **slum dwellers in Chicago**. Stopping at a Negro community action group called the West Side Organization, Romney faced some hard questioning by young toughs, who asked Romney if his Mormon religion would prevent his giving equal rights to Negroes. "Don't give us any double-talk," screamed one Negro. Several onlookers yelled: "Tell us about the [Detroit] riot, Romney. . . . What about the riot?"

A short while earlier Romney had become furious over what he felt was a **deliberate intent to insult him** by a Puerto Rican neighborhood organization called Casa Central Outpost. Believing he had been welcomed to the Outpost, he was greeted with a sign hanging over the door saying: "We do not welcome politicians that call out National Guard on poor people."

Romney told Luis Cuza, 25, the leader of the organization, that he had been tricked and deceived into thinking he was welcome. He angrily accused Cuza of a "despicable political attack" on him. When Cuza tried to turn away from the **governor's wrath**, Romney, who has been known to shake the lapels of his opponents, grabbed Cuza by the arm, saying: "You started this. You stand here and take it."

• Romney had an equally difficult time in **Indiana** last week. When he visited Indianapolis, which has municipal elections this November, GOP State Chairman John Rowe accused Romney of using "**extremely bad manners**" and said that he should have postponed his trip until after the elections. Hoosier Republican tradition, it is noted, is that presidential contenders do not come into the state until after the mayoralty race.

Poll of Democrats

If the next presidential election were held tomorrow, Democratic state party chairmen and governors believe **President Johnson would just win by a narrow victory.** All 24 Democratic governors and party chairmen—or their counterparts—in 50 states and the District of Columbia were contacted in a survey conducted by United Press International wire service.

These Democratic political professionals also believe **Richard M. Nixon** is the strongest candidate the Republicans could field against LBJ. Of 36 who expressed an opinion, 15 regarded Nixon as the greatest threat to LBJ; 12 gave the nod to Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller** of New York and eight thought Gov. **Ronald Reagan** of California the most potent GOP candidate. Gov. **George Romney** of Michigan received only one vote.

PERCY

Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen removed himself from consideration as Illinois' favorite-son candidate for the GOP presidential nomination last week, clearing the path for his ambitious junior colleague, Charles H. Percy.

After Dirksen had declared he had "absolutely no . . . personal desire" to take on the favorite-son role, Sen. Percy jumped in to bid for the position. "I have said before that I would be willing to be the **favorite son** if the delegation wished me to be. . . . Now there is no question that I would ask for support of the delegates," he told Washington Post reporter David Broder.

The move by Dirksen was regarded by Percy backers as an **extremely timely event** to keep their man in the presidential picture should Gov. George Romney's faltering campaign completely collapse.

PERCY

DIRKSEN

The minority leader said his own support of Percy for favorite son was "**another question.**" Asked whom he plans to support ultimately for the Republican nomination, Dirksen said he is "going through a little huddle with myself" and that he hoped to come up with a candidate. He has agreed, however, to introduce Gov. **Ronald Reagan** of California at a fund-raising event later this month at Eureka College, Ill. The Senate minority leader has caused quite a stir among reporters by his recent lavish praise for the California governor.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

The New York Times reports that more than five months before the primary in New Hampshire, the White House has assigned a young lawyer to begin organizing support for President Johnson. "The unusually early timing of the move," says the Times, "reflects increasing concern in high Democratic circles over prospective **competition to the President** from a slate of delegates 'favorable' to Sen. Robert F. Kennedy."

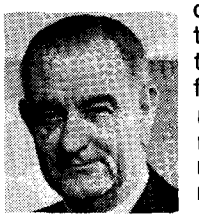
KENNEDY

Kennedy has urged his New Hampshire supporters to keep his name out of the primary, but, under the stated election law, he cannot prevent such "favorable" delegates from being placed on the ballot.

The White House agent, still unidentified, will reportedly begin exploratory work in New Hampshire on October 1, after a personal send-off from the President. He will operate under the direct supervision of **W. Marvin Watson**, the Texan who serves as LBJ's political chief of staff.

CALIFORNIA

A slate for pro-Johnson delegates to the Democratic National Convention could conceivably lose to a "peace" delegation in the 1968 California Democratic primary, according to a recent **State Poll** run by Don M. Muchmore.


JOHNSON

In a statewide sampling of Democratic public opinion, the poll found a "**surprising lack of strength**" for President Johnson (42 per cent) against a "peace" delegation (39 per cent).

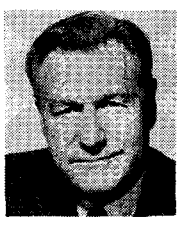
Almost half (45 per cent) of the Democratic voters polled indicated they thought the President was doing a "poor" job in handling Viet Nam, and 67 per cent couldn't think of any area or program in which they thought he was doing a "good" or "excellent" job.

ROCKEFELLER

According to the Gallup Poll last week, Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller** of New York would beat President Lyndon Johnson today by 48 per cent to 46 per cent, with 6 per cent undecided.

Gallup also says that if Gov. George Romney drops out of the race, Richard Nixon stands to be the biggest winner. Over 40 per cent of the Romney supporters indicated they would **switch to Nixon**, 20 per cent would shift to Rockefeller and 15 per cent would back Gov. **Ronald Reagan.**

Governor Rockefeller has not quite taken himself out of the presidential race—despite his recent statement that he no longer has the ambition to run for the nomination. Asked to comment on last week's interview with the Associated Press in which he said he was psychologically past running, Rockefeller said that is still true, but he stressed he doesn't feel "I'm over the hill."


ROCKEFELLER

The question of his availability was pursued—particularly since several polls show he could whip LBJ—and he was asked to state his position with finality by repeating the pledge of former President Calvin Coolidge that if elected he would not serve. Rocky replied: "I'm not Mr. Coolidge and I'm not Mr. Sherman."

Reagan Says 'No' to New Hampshire

Gov. Ronald Reagan of California sent a personal emissary to New Hampshire this week to plead that his name not be injected in the first Republican presidential primary next March. But the emissary, conservative San Francisco businessman **Leland J. Kaiser**, returned without any pledge from the state. Confirming that he had met with Reagan enthusiasts, Kaiser said he had read them a letter from Reagan which said in part: "Please advise everyone you can that I am not a candidate for higher office, that I do not wish my name entered in primary contests and that specifically I shall ask the secretary of state to strike my name from the ballot if it is proposed."

REAGAN

Kaiser said former State Sen. Russell Carter and other Reagan supporters in the state explained to him that while the California governor could have his name removed from the March preference poll, he was powerless to halt a **write-in campaign** on his behalf. Nor could he prevent candidates who declared themselves favorable to Reagan from seeking election to the eight New Hampshire delegate posts to the Republican National Convention.

Kaiser related: "They told me there is such a tremendous groundswell for Reagan they could not head it off if they tried. They told me if they didn't organize a drive for him, someone else would. I talked to enough people myself to be convinced there is a genuine groundswell for Reagan" in New Hampshire.

In 1964 a write-in campaign for Henry Cabot Lodge in the state's GOP primary defeated both Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and former Sen. Barry Goldwater, both active candidates at the time.

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Advocating "urban guerrilla warfare" is fast becoming a favorite pastime of the "Black Power" adherents.

Socialist 'Scholars' Meet

Revolutionary violence a recurrent theme

By ALICE WIDENER

While comfortable, complacent capitalist Americans went to church or played golf or lolled around at home reading the papers or watching TV on Sunday morning, September 10, a "Black Power" workshop session at the 3rd Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars at the New York Hilton Hotel in Manhattan was talking about burning down 20 American cities next year and waging "a military struggle in the streets." The session took place in the Rhinelander Gallery, which seats 1,000 and was filled to overflowing, with standees along the walls.

Sic transit gloria mundi.

After the cities are burned and shot up next year, "downtown" as well as in the so-called ghettoes, and after blood has run in the streets, there doubtless will be congressional and presidential investigating committees—as there were this year—to find out why the riots (rebellions, insurrections) took place.

Probably Senators Robert F. Kennedy, Javits, Clark and McGovern will speak their pieces next year as this year, claiming there was no outside instigation of the riots which were started by drifters up from the South, or by young hoodlums, or by a regrettable incident involving a charge of "police brutality."

Probably Huntley, Brinkley, Sevareid, Mike Wallace and Sander Vanocur will broadcast their analyses of what happened. Probably the Washington *Post,* New York *Times,* Los Angeles *Times, Look, Life, Newsweek* and *Time* will carry front-page stories about the revolution and horrifying pictures of it. Democratic and Republican candidates will express their shock and indignation at the bloodshed while reaching out for votes and promising billions for urban reconstruction.

What I want to know is, where were the press and congressional and presidential investigators on Sunday morning? Why weren't they where I was? After Watts, Cleveland, Newark and Detroit, why weren't they at the Red-Black Power session held from 10 to 12:30 a.m. by the Socialist Scholars in the Rhinelander Gallery at the New York Hilton?

Had they been there, they really would have found out some facts of life in our nation today. They would have heard Chairman James Boggs of Detroit set forth all the strategy and tactics for Red-Black Power destruction of 20 cities in our nation next year. They would have heard Ivanhoe Donaldson, campaign manager for Julian Bond in Georgia, declare that next year the revolution will move from the black ghettoes to the white ghetto banks and draft centers and everywhere else.

They would have heard Donaldson say, "There's a Chase Manhattan Bank at 125th Street in this town. We're trying to get jobs in a bank we ought to destroy." They would have seen Socialist scholars Raymond S. Franklin of Queens College and Gilbert Osofsky of the University of Illinois in Chicago share the dais with Boggs and Donaldson and utter nary a word of outraged protest.

The press and investigators would have been among more than 1,000 persons who applauded Boggs' and Donaldson's calls for "military struggle in the streets" between the people's forces for revolution and the police-military forces for counter-revolution. They would have heard the "Black Power" spokesmen and Communists explain why guerrilla warfare in the United States is different from that in Cuba and other countries where it starts in the mountains and countryside.

They would have heard in plainest, coldly calculated detail why guerrilla warfare in our country is best conducted, from the strategic military point of view, in the cities where a combination of violence and sabotage can "bring down the system."

They would have heard Ivanhoe Donaldson boast, "In Detroit, we defeated the police and the National Guard." They would have heard Boggs' reply to the question whether the blacks and whites could ever live together in our nation. "The whites have to struggle against another set of whites and the struggle will be equally as violent."

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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Secret Session on Backlash Effect

Labor Strategists Fear Rank-and-File Revolt Against LBJ in '68

By VICTOR RIESEL

Some of Lyndon Johnson's most intimate friends, closest allies and most ingenious political advisers—the nation's top labor chiefs—believe that the riots can whiplash the President right out of the White House in '68.

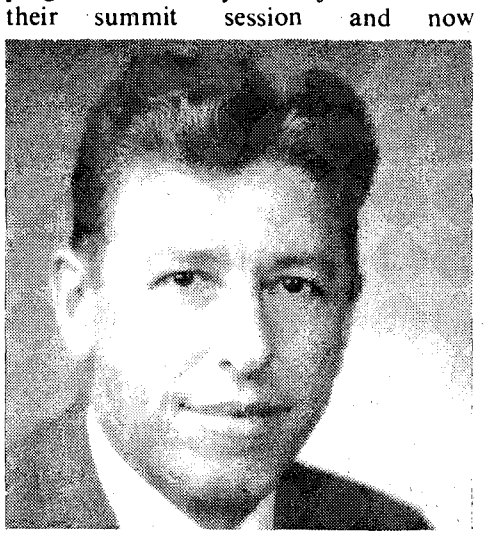
They believe the burning, the looting, the Molotov cocktail barrages are more deadly to his political survival than all the cutting criticism of the Vietnamese war.

Grimly, this is what labor's high command, sitting behind the closed doors of a hotel penthouse in New York the other day, concluded after a series of influential labor chiefs told each other of the sentiment among their own rank and file.

One labor leader, easily now the most militant in the land, said bluntly that his Southern followers were defecting and rallying to Alabama's George Wallace.

"I wish," said he dolefully, "I could show you the letters we're getting from our rank and file."

These labor chiefs are the country's pragmatists. They had just finished their summit session and now



COPE Director Al Barkan

had formed themselves into the administrative committee of their Committee on Political Education (COPE). They were surrounded by their technicians and field men, including the voter registration specialist, Roy Reuther.

Since, in their private skull sessions, they make a fetish of realism, they admitted to each other they were in deep political trouble.

For the first time in decades, these same men doubted they could deliver a heavy labor vote to a Democratic candidate in a presidential election.

After some hard listening, their own president, George Meany, who has a distinct distaste for Madison Avenue and Machiavelli, wrapped it all up in his traditionally blunt tones.

"This is not the time to be criticizing Johnson," said the cigar-chomping labor chief. "The Republican candidates now in the field are no friends of labor. If they—Nixon, Reagan, Romney—ever get into the White House we're in trouble. Let's continue to criticize Johnson only where necessary and work with him when we can put a program over together.

"Let's withhold political criticism until we see what happens at next year's conventions."

Then he turned to the contemporary street scene—civil war in the big cities—and struck the same motif which President Johnson hit the next day at Kansas City.

"You can't blame Johnson for the riots in the cities," he said. "That's something the central government can't handle.

"Nor can you blame Johnson for the war in Viet Nam. After all, it was Eisenhower and Dulles who committed us there. All Johnson did was to inherit it.

"So before you criticize Johnson at this stage of the game, just think what the alternative means to labor at the present time—the people who are the possible nominees on the Republican ticket. Obviously, you won't take a Reagan over Johnson."

Then he looked around the big table and reminded them that back in 1948 some of them had wanted to dump Harry Truman. That's indelible history. The Roosevelts and the liberal labor leaders, including Walter Reuther, were for a general named Dwight Eisenhower.

There was no rebellion in the summit's air. Just tension over the race issue. When the session broke for lunch the men who lead some 14 million workers, the highest paid in the world, went forth to beat down the backlash, especially among their younger members.

They had listened to technical analysis. They had watched slides. They had been briefed on the campaign magic of the computer. And they had heard from their own dynamic COPE director, Al Barkan, that they were in political trouble even in this year's local and state elections.

And they had decided to mobilize early and keep on swinging for Johnson until the final tally. Early next spring COPE will run four major meetings across the nation to whip up enthusiasm for the Johnson-labor ticket. They then will go into the suburbs, North and South, to attempt to stamp out the backlash.

They have the money, the manpower, the muscle. But they headed for home with the grim feeling that another long burning summer would leave them out in the cold on Inauguration Day, 1969.

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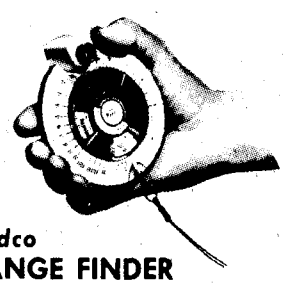
Haverhill's Importorium



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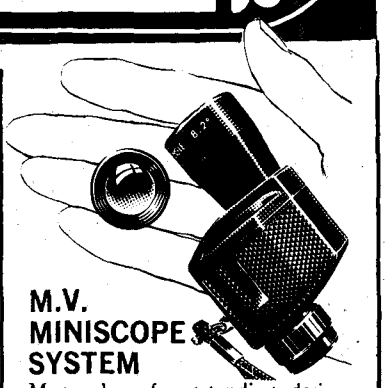

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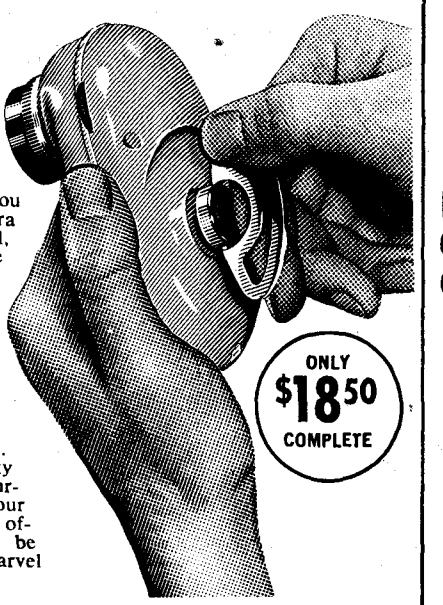

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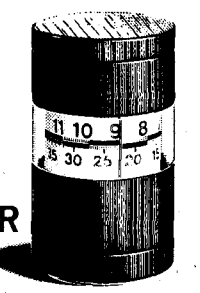

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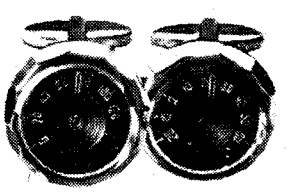

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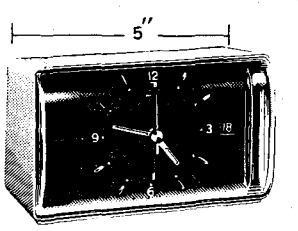

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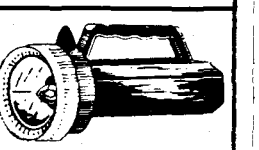

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High Marks for Reagan's First Year in

By LEE EDWARDS

The ultra-liberal *New Republic* magazine comments: "Ronald Reagan turns out to be a kind of Hubert Humphrey of the right"—a man who easily compromises his principles.

An ultra-conservative state senator from Southern California calls the governor's budget and tax program "A tragic end to the brightest hope on the American political scene today."

Conservative columnist Thomas Lane writes: "If he retains the confidence of the people of California in his renaissance of freedom and progress, he may in 1968 be the only candidate with demonstrated qualifications for restoring integrity to the federal government."

Charles Warren, California's Democratic chairman, concedes: "A year ago we were laughing Ronnie Reagan off as governor. Now we're not laughing him off as President, and as things are, he would win in California."

Who's right and who's wrong? Why are there so many opinions—on the left and on the right—about Gov. Reagan?

I think there are two main reasons:

• An inordinate amount of attention has been focused on Reagan's $5.07-billion budget and $900-million tax program for 1967-68. *If* the record budget and tax hike were *all* that Ronald Reagan had done in his first eight months in office, then the *New Republic* and the state senator from Southern California would be right, and even guilty of understatement. But in point of fact, Reagan has taken several major steps toward his goal of replacing the "Great Society" with the Creative Society in our nation's largest state. However, these measures have been ignored or underemphasized in all the understandable publicity about the budget and tax hike.

• Too many people have been too hasty in coming to conclusions about the Reagan Administration. They have made up their minds on the basis of the evidence visible after only eight months in office—not knowing, for example, that Gov. Reagan and his advisers expect to receive Task Force reports late this fall which they hope they can translate into programs which will save millions of dollars and further reduce the size and influence of the state government. The critics are trying to measure an iceberg by its tip.

They tend to forget that Ronald Reagan was elected for a term of *four* years, and doesn't have to—in fact, couldn't possibly—do everything the first year. They also tend to forget that he was presented with a few prickly problems—including a $194-million debt—by the departing Brown regime. And they forget what Reagan himself said during the campaign and remarked on earlier this year, when he was in the middle of his budget-tax struggle:

"Over and over again in the campaign I called attention to the people that things had been on a toboggan and it couldn't be reversed all at once. . . . I think there are some people—a few—who would want me to jump off a cliff with the flag flying. But the bulk of the response I am getting is that they realize I am trying to do everything I promised in the campaign."

Let's consider some specifics, starting with the record budget.

In its last year in office, fiscal 1966-67, the Brown administration spent approximately $4.8 billion. Starting in January, Gov. Reagan had barely one month to study the state's finances before having to submit his budget recommendations for fiscal 1967-68. Six months later, despite a Democratic legislature eager to disburse goodies, despite paying off $194 million in long-term debt left by Pat Brown, despite covering a short-term $386-million cash deficiency in the state's general fund from 1966-67, despite an unexpected rise of $75 million in the costs of Medi-Cal (the state's program which provides medical care for indigents under 65 in cooperation with the federal Medicare law) and despite his own determination to provide relief for the state's heavily taxed property owners, Ronald Reagan approved a 1967-68 budget of $5.07 billion.

While that *is* a monster of a budget, it represents the smallest increase—8 per cent—over spending in the preceding year since the 1950s. In contrast, Pat Brown's last budget was 16 per cent higher than the one the year before.

Furthermore, while California's budget is *technically* the highest in the nation, it holds that embarrassing honor only because New York State and New York City operate on separate, and massive, budgets. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's estimated 1967-68 budget is $4.6 billion. Mayor John Lindsay easily tops that with an estimated 1967-68 budget of *$6.2 billion* (including the general budget of $5.2 billion and the capital improvements budget of $1 billion). If you combine the state and the city budgets, you have a grand total of $10.8 billion—more than twice the size of California's budget.

Is somebody out there saying, "What about Los Angeles' budget?" Well, the estimated 1967-68 budget for the city of Los Angeles is a modest $367 million. Which means that New York and its largest city spend and tax about twice as much as California and its largest city—while New York City spends more than the state of California and Los Angeles combined.

So the trophy as the most profligate state in the Union really belongs to the fountainhead of liberalism—New York.

Nevertheless, Ronald Reagan *still* approved a budget of $5.07 billion. He should have been able to eliminate a couple of million dollars here and there. Shouldn't he?

Well, let's take a closer look. The original $4.8-billion budget given the new administration by Pat Brown contained three general categories: (*a*) a $3.2-billion general fund, which finances most of the state's operating activities; (*b*) a $1.1-billion special fund, which covers such things as highway construction and wildlife conservation; and (*c*) $519 million in bond issues to finance the state's giant water project, university construction and similar projects.

The $1.1-billion special fund and the $519 million in bond issues could *not* be touched without public referendums or by action by the state legislature, which was Democratic and would clearly be hostile to any such move. That left the general fund for the pruning experts.

At first glance, it might seem no arduous task to trim drastically a $3.2-billion general fund. But almost two-thirds of this sum was payments made to counties and communities for such activities as public education and welfare. Most of these subsidies were required either by provisions in the state constitution or by statute (like the special fund) and could not be reduced without repealing existing law.

Also, any trimming in this area was blocked by Reagan's firm promise during the 1966 campaign that he would provide *more* state assistance to local governments so that they could, in turn, reduce prope
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Mr. Edwards, a Washington-based writer and public relations consultant, is the author of Reagan: A Political Biography, *which will be published November 7 by Viewpoint Books, San Diego, Calif. 92109.*

Governor Reagan Meets the Press*

Q. Governor, will you clarify your position on the presidential race? We've got a lot of trained seals out there and I wondered what your position was?

A. Trained seals?

Q. Trained seals, governor, are representatives of large metropolitan newspapers. (Laughter)

Q. Let me renew that question, governor. Will you clarify your position as to the 1968 race? Are you going to be a favorite son candidate and so forth?

A. Well, while we have not actually made a hard and fast decision, I can say that we are certainly close to the idea and in all probability, unless something changes, yes, I will be a favorite son here in the interests of trying to keep the glue on our recently healed wounds and to avoid any bitter campaign that might result once again in splitting the party.

——— ★ ———

Q. What about [the] accusation that this is not the time to cut back the investment in education in California youths?

A. Well, I don't think we're really cutting back the investment in California's youth. We've made no pretense that in our cuts there won't have to be some belt-tightening and temporarily we'll have to put off or do without some of the things we'd like to have. This is true in every department, every agency that is cutting; just like putting a freeze on automobiles. The old ones you're going to have to drive a little longer and a little farther.

But there's no one in this administration that intends to do anything that will be harmful to education. But we do believe that there are certain intellectual luxuries that perhaps we could do without for a year or two without hurting the cause of education. And we've asked for their cooperation both at the college and university level, in finding those things that can be done without getting into the real meat.

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Q. Governor, what is your response to the criticism by [State] Sen. George Miller that you deliberately have put up a smokescreen on your budget to obscure, as he put it, your retreat from reality?

A. Well, now that's pretty good phrase-making the satirists have come up with there, but I don't see how anyone can call recognizing the fact that we're spending $1 million a day more than we're taking in a "retreat from reality." As a matter of fact, I think there's been just a little bit of digressing from the fact.

The fact is that someone for the last eight years has been retreating from reality, and maybe reality as a result has become so unusual that we just don't recognize it when we face it. The reality is we're spending $365 million-plus a year more than we're taking in.

——— ★ ———

Q. Governor, why do you have reservations about the Sherman-like statement on your candidacy in '68?

A. Well, if I try to explain that, I'll get into trouble again. . . . I said that . . . it's kind of a presumptuous thing. It brings to mind a picture of the citizens of the country knocking on the door and telling you they want you to be President and you slam the door in their face.

First of all, they're not going to do that. And second of all, it's very presumptuous of anyone to act that way. I think you make your feelings as plain as you can as to what you'll do in advance, and as I said over and over again, I'm governor. I'm going to try to be governor. I'm going to discourage and repudiate as I have done any groups or organizations that have any other ideas. And beyond that, that's it.

——— ★ ———

Q. Governor, do you conceive of any circumstances where you would sign a withholding tax bill?

A. Could I conceive of any circumstances where I would sign a withholding tax bill? Oh, I suppose, if they held a hot iron to my feet and I was bound hand and foot. Every man has a breaking point.

**Every week, during the legislative session, as many as 100 newsmen and 15 television cameras cover Gov. Reagan's news conferences in the Capitol in Sacramento. The sessions are excellent showcases for Reagan's ability to think clearly and quickly and to handle hostile questions. This "news conference" has been excerpted from the unofficial transcripts of these conferences. It is an accurate reflection of just what happens when Ronald Reagan meets the press.*

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	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.
Reagan	74%	14%	44%
Johnson	19	76	44
Undecided	7	10	12

A Lou Harris Poll in August reported almost the same over-all results:

Johnson.....**50%**
Reagan.....**40%**
Undecided **10%**

Despite such polls and increasing speculation about 1968, Reagan has steadfastly insisted that he is no more and no less than a "favorite son" candidate, that he has no intention of campaigning in any of the 1968 primaries and that he is concentrating his energy and attention on making the Creative Society work.

Even a random listing of some of the accomplishments of the first eight months are impressive:

- Reduced the initial 1967-68 budget by $127 million, the largest cut ever made in California's budget.
- Paid off a $194-million cash debt left by Pat Brown.
- Eliminated $43.5 million from the final 1967-68 budget which had been enlarged by an overly generous state legislature.
- Reduced the state civil service by 2,550 employes, down 2.5 per cent.
- Put the state on a pay-as-you-go basis by pushing through a $900-million tax hike which did not, he emphasized, "represent my philosophy of government."
- Initiated surveys, audits and task forces to review state spending and efficiency and to make recommendations to eliminate excessive spending and bureaucracy.
- Expanded H. C. (Chad) McClellan's job program, which has located over 17,000 jobs for unemployed Negroes and other groups in Southern California, to cover the entire state.
- Saved millions of dollars by doing without such luxuries as a state airplane, multi-color brochures and maps, and a new $4-million office which was found to be unnecessary after careful study.

Gov. Reagan frequently refers to the nearly 200 business and professional experts who are voluntarily studying the state government's operations. Their recommendations on tax reform and government economies are expected to be presented in late fall or winter. By that time, he feels, and before the next budget is submitted, "We will have a pretty good idea of what government should cost and how big it should be and taxes will be geared to real need and not to some empire-building concept of government growing bigger and bigger just for the sake of growing."

Will he succeed? It is far too early to make any final judgment, but the first eight months of the Creative Society suggest strongly that government of, by and for the people is possible if the man at the top is intelligent enough and persuasive enough and if he can bring forth those same qualities in the people he represents. As Gov. Reagan himself has said, "This year is only the beginning."

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Q. Governor, one of your big power bases is considered to be Southern California. If your tax increase goes to $800 million in taxes, according to Sen. John Schmitz, you will be breaking faith with the people who elected you. Sen. Schmitz had a release yesterday suggesting that this was the case. Do you feel this was the case?

A. Why, I haven't seen his release and I don't know why it's breaking faith. I said all during the campaign that we were going to make every effort we could to solve the financial problem without a tax increase.

But at that time there was no way of knowing that we were going to come up against a figure in the present year's spending over which we have no control, which has put the state in a great deficit position. Money *must* be found to pay that back and balance up this year's spending.

Now, the law prescribes you must do that. I also, on the other hand, promised property tax relief, and a part of the present tax bill is devoted for the first time in more than 30 years to direct property tax relief for the individual.

So I don't think we've broken faith at all. I would have hoped—and say it again—I would have given *anything* if we could have met this problem with the economies alone. But the problem was more than we anticipated.

Q. Is there anything you would have done differently?

A. Anything I'd have done differently? Oh, that's an awful question to ask. Because if I say no, it sounds like I think everything has been done perfectly. There might be here and there some different approaches, but there would be no basic difference.

All I've tried to do—evidently I've made a great political mistake that's come as a shock to some people . . . [is] what I told the people in the campaign I was going to do. And evidently that's not part of the game. It caught some people by surprise. But I am going to continue trying to do what I told the people I was going to do.

——— ★ ———

Q. Governor, would you care to follow the example of Bobby Kennedy and say today you'll not permit your name to be entered in the Oregon and Nebraska primaries?

A. Well, Bobby Kennedy is in a different position than I am. He can do that and I can't afford to. I just call to your attention one thing that will . . . put me in a spot if I tried to do that. I have told you repeatedly that I'll discourage anyone: I won't do anything to encourage it. I'll certainly not show up any place and campaign. But at the same time I also admitted to you that I'm going to be a favorite son candidate.

Now the affidavits that one has to swear to in order to get his name off the ballot in those states that have that particular style of primary would also then put me in a position that would be hard to uphold or maintain as a favorite son candidate in our own state. . . .

Q. Governor, what are your present and future plans as far as the New Hampshire primary is concerned?

A. My future plans are what they've always been. New Hampshire is 3,000 miles away, and I have no intention of going there and having anything to do with it.

Q. Governor, Oregon, however, since it's not 3,000 miles away, and your name will doubtless be in the primary there, will you go to Oregon?

A. I will do anything to discourage my name being put under that type of primary. I won't lift a finger if it's put in, and that's all I can do. Because as I said before here in this meeting, the nature of the affidavit that one must sign to withdraw his name if someone enters, is such that it would be pretty inconsistent with my being a favorite here in this state.

Q. Do you think you would make a good vice president?

A. No, I don't like to travel that well.

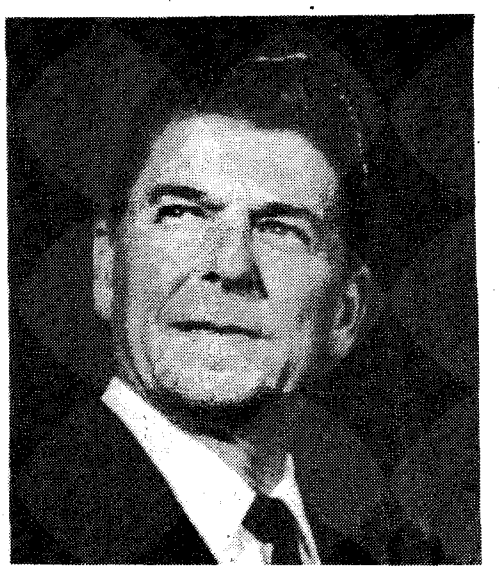
——— ★ ———

Q. Since last week, since your discussion here of Viet Nam, it's been announced that [Gen.] William Westmoreland probably wants a couple more thousand men to raise the total to 600,000. Last week you mentioned that it was your feeling that a sudden or a quick strike for victory would be preferable. Would you more closely define "victory"? What do you mean by that, in a military sense?

A. I just meant it . . . in conformity with what I've been saying for a long time, that I think that the way to end a war is to win it, and I don't believe that a country of this size and its comparable power with North Viet Nam is turning the full resources of this nation behind the forces now over there to win a victory as quickly as possible.

Q. The pattern we are using now, governor, by everyone's agreement, is a war of attrition, to kill people, not to take and occupy ground. Winston Churchill and others have warned about trying to do this on the Asian mainland. Do you still agree this is the way to go about it?

A. I just know you make the enemy want to come to the negotiating table because it hurts too much not to. Evidently we are not hurting them and it's just been revealed in the papers now—I don't know whether it's been confirmed or not—but I was interested to read that there's been apparently a four-month effort in which very quietly and without fanfare we have been avoiding certain targets, hoping that the enemy out of a warmth of spirit would



come to the negotiating table. But they didn't do it and I think now with all the score of peace attempts that we have made, I think the time now is maybe to try getting them to the negotiating table because, as I say, it hurts *not* to come there.

Q. Would you preclude the use of atomic weapons?

A. I don't think anybody would cheerfully want to use them, but I have also quoted former President Eisenhower. I agree with him that the last person in the world that should know we wouldn't use them is the enemy. He should go to bed every night being afraid that we might.

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Q. Governor, in a speech here . . . former Gov. Brown said that the great shortage of your administration was a lack of compassion for the people in your programs. Would you comment on that for us?

A. Well, I don't know, in commenting on what my predecessor has to say about me—sometimes I'm inclined to think that power corrupts, and the loss of power corrupts absolutely.

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Q. Governor, to get back to the question of compassion for a moment. Some of your critics are saying that in such things as your closing of the Consumer Council and your appointment to labor positions of business-type people, that you in effect are a representative of the business community and a friend of big business and against the common people. Would you comment on that?

A. Well, I think they were saying that when I was running for the office. I don't think anything has changed and I don't think anything has been done by me to substantiate it. I think that this is kind of normal political dialogue between Republicans and the leadership—present Democratic leadership.

I don't believe that we are lacking in compassion in any way and this just further typifies what I've said in my mind is one of the shortcomings of the so-called liberal, if I have to use these adjectives, which I don't like to use, and I was a liberal. I was quite a bleeding-heart liberal. I think I have some understanding of how they think and how I thought, and the criticism that I have and many of my friends—and we discuss this good naturedly, because they still are my friends—but there's been a tendency with regard to social legislation, the other side never will meet you on the legitimate argument as to whether that particular legislation is the best way to solve the problem. They only want to argue by charging that you are against the humanitarian goals.

Now, I said I am wholeheartedly in *support* of the humanitarian *goals* of practically all of the social legislation we have ever had. I am violently *opposed* to some of the *methods* we have chosen because they have not brought the good they were supposed to bring. I don't think there is any real good to humanity or compassion in adopting some kind of welfare that perpetuates poverty and puts people for three and four generations of their family onto the public dole instead of getting them off the public dole and out as self-sustaining citizens, and this charge is going to continue to be made. . . . The only hope that I can have now in this position is to hope that we will try our way and maybe they will see as the end result that we did some good and that we did have compassion after all.

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What House Investigations Show

Is OEO Really Helping Migrant Workers?

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Confused and distressed, the Mexican-American migrant workers stared at the long questionnaire. They had been in high spirits a moment earlier, assured that the bounteous United States government was about to rescue them from back-breaking labor in the fields by teaching them English and a profitable trade.

Now, they looked at one another uneasily. They were being required to answer 51 questions, phrased in Spanish, their mother-tongue, which probed their innermost thought. Some of the queries implied doubt of their religious beliefs; others seemed designed to stir them to unrest.

"Do you really believe that Jesus was divine?" they were asked. "Do you really believe he walked on water? What value does religion play in your life?"

Or—had they been discriminated against as Mexican-Americans? Did they think all poor people should be "united" against the more privileged classes? What did they think of agricultural strikes? Would they join a union and quit work if ordered out on strike? Did they think they had been treated unjustly as migrant workers?

And one final puzzler, adroitly phrased to search out racial prejudice: Whom would they prefer as a neighbor, a Negro or an Oriental?

The questions were put by an official anti-poverty agency, the Crusade Against Poverty of Santa Paula, Calif., financed by a grant of $68,545 from the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington.

The project, as originally outlined last March, seemed impervious to criticism. The plight of migrant workers has aroused widespread sympathy and here was a program breathing practicality and common sense. Nine hundred adult migrant and seasonal farm workers in Ventura County, Calif. were to be taught English and the auto mechanic trade. With skilled mechanics in short supply, no American joholders would be menaced and migrant workers would be made ready for citizenship, earning good wages and paying taxes instead of burdening the relief rolls.

The story of what happened to this worthy proposal is typical of hundreds of similar cases in the bulging complaint files of the House Education and Labor Committee which is investigating the poverty program.

The OEO has spent $3 billion and is seeking another $2 billion from Congress. As vast sums have trickled down through layers of high-salaried administrators, good programs have been distorted. Poverty workers have participated in fomenting riots. Money has been earmarked to finance schools for teaching racial hatred. In Florida, a General Accounting Office inquiry revealed, poverty funds were spent on "voter registration drives," which produced 135 Democrats for each Republican. In other states, the money was used to organize unions.

In all these cases, one common theme was apparent: the bureaucratic itch to use taxpayer dollars for purposes other than the alleviation of want. The poor were ideal subjects for exploitation. The OEO payroll became crowded with sociologists who used the poor for study; with politicians who sought their votes; with revolutionaries who incited them to civil disobedience.

Congressional investigators encountered another common factor: the evasion of responsibility when misuse of poverty funds was bared. When the migrant workers, in the case just cited, raised a storm, questioning the relevancy of their religious beliefs to training as mechanics, a familiar pattern emerged.

The major poverty agency in the community disclaimed knowledge of the questionnaire, agreeing that it had caused "great dissension and turmoil" among the workers. The project director pointed the finger of blame at David Zimmerman, a volunteer teacher. Zimmerman said he had only been testing the reading ability of the workers and the questionnaire just happened to be handy. He proclaimed himself "utterly innocent of evil intent."

The migrant workers were excused from disclosing their religious beliefs, their readiness to rise in revolt against injustice, and their racial preferences in neighbors. But this case, and a multitude of similar incidents, will be cited in forthcoming debate in Congress on the plea of Sargent Shriver, OEO director, for another $2 billion. He has good reason to fear a determined drive to transfer many of his functions to other departments.

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SIMPLE, PAINFUL FACT—"The myth about a few people exploiting the rest of the population is absolutely false. The latest tax figures show why. The simple and painful fact is that rather than a few exploiting most, it is just the other way around. The majority of taxpayers in the country are, in effect, exploiting a distinct minority. Some 16 per cent of our taxpayers have incomes in the comfortable range between $10,000 and $15,000 a year. They represent the most skilled segment of our society. This 16 per cent, however, pays an overwhelming 60 per cent of all individual income taxes. Now who is exploiting whom?"—Barry Goldwater in his syndicated column

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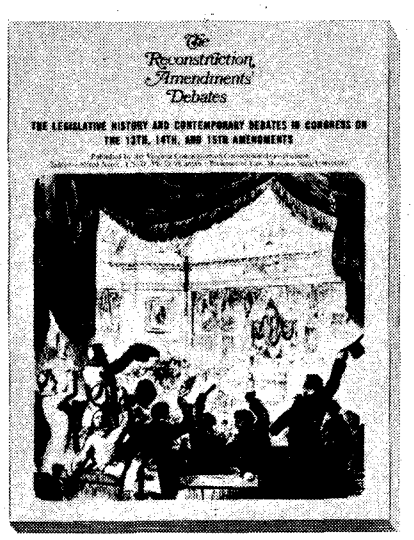
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The Ghost of Mihailovich

From the Richmond *News Leader*

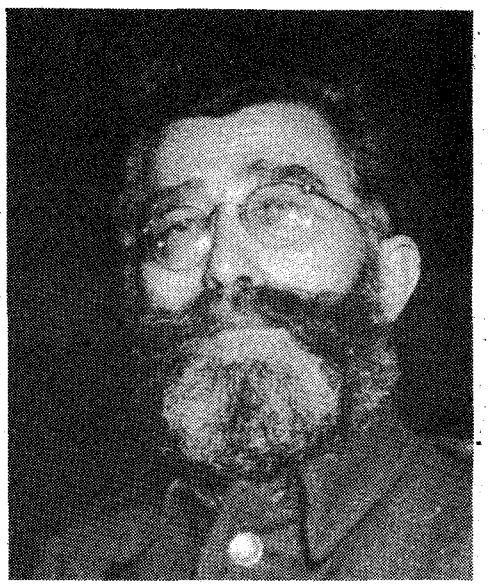
After enduring a year of bureaucratic run-around Rep. Edward Derwinski of Illinois has found what he was looking for: The United States government at last has acknowledged that many years ago it awarded the Legion of Honor—one of the highest decorations that can be given to a foreign national—to Gen. Draja Mihailovich, the Yugoslav World War II hero excuted by Tito. The State Department has kept the award secret for 20 years.

Readers perhaps will recall Mihailovich. He was the elusive Serbian who led important resistance forces against the Axis powers for three years, beginning in December 1941. Underfed and underarmed, Mihailovich's troops comprised a formidable underground movement that, among other things, rescued many downed American pilots. He was awarded the Legion of Honor because he and his men, according to the citation, were "instrumental in obtaining a final allied victory."

But Mihailovich never knew about the award: He had been shot by Tito's henchmen 20 months before. At the Teheran Conference, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had agreed to repudiate the Yugoslav government in exile, headed by King Peter, and to recognize Tito as the allied leader in occupied Yugoslavia.

That was the end of Yugoslavia as a friend of the West. Tito, a Kremlin stooge, rounded up Mihailovich and had him dispatched.

The most puzzling aspect of the Mihailovich incident, however, is that the American people until now have not known of the Legion of Honor award. After pressing the government, Derwinski finally received a letter in July from William B. Macomber Jr., an assistant secretary of state. With obvious discomfort, Macomber confirmed that the award had been signed by President Truman on March 29, 1948, and since



Yugoslav guerrilla leader Draja Mihailovich was awarded the U.S. Legion of Honor—but the State Department hasn't wanted to admit it.

then has reposed in a State Department drawer.

Derwinski suggested that the award be presented to King Peter II, whom Mihailovich served as minister of defense. No, said Macomber; Tito might be offended. Well, then, what about giving it to one of Mihailovich's heirs? Again, no: "The considerations that made it impracticable to present the award to any heir of Gen. Mihailovich in 1948," Macomber wrote, "remain just as pertinent today."

What considerations? The U.S. government refuses to color Tito's Yugoslavia Red; since 1945, Tito has received nearly $3 billion in American aid. Had he been a friend, surely Tito would not have minded if the American people learned that the American government recognized the great services Mihailovich rendered in defeating Hitler.

No, there is a deeper reason: The ghost of Mihailovich continually reminds the American government that 20 years ago, when it decided to befriend the relentless Tito, it made a mistake that looms bigger every day.

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Commissioner of Education Harold Howe

Vigilant Eye Needed

Little Federal Indoctrination In Education—Up to a Point

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

In fielding questions the other day on "Meet the Press," Harold Howe was asked about the use of federal funds to subsidize the writing of textbooks for use in public schools. The U.S. commissioner of education scooped up the ball with practiced ease. Nothing to worry about, he said in effect; and threw his questioner out at first.

The reporter who looks into federal grants for educational research is inclined to agree—up to a point. So far, and the emphasis has to be put on "so far," the government's program of educational subsidies appears to have been administered with great prudence.

There is nothing to indicate that Howe's office is embarked upon a conspiracy to indoctrinate little children in officially approved theories of genetics, anthropology, economics, American history, or anything else. Howe and his top people are adamantly opposed to any such thing.

The government's budget for educational research, administered through Howe's office, now runs in the neighborhood of $100 million a year. Of this sum, only $6 million is marked for curriculum development—that is, for the preparation of materials that deal directly with course content.

The rest of the budget goes principally into what might be called the methodology of teaching. Education of the handicapped gets $10 million a year; vocational education is down for the same amount. Some $15 million goes into research on the teaching of reading. Another $20 million helps to finance such regional laboratories as the Learning Research and Development Center at the University of Pittsburgh.

Still other substantial grants have been approved for library research, audio-visual research, and computer-aided instruction. While some of these experiments provoke sharp controversy within the teaching profession, none of them seems likely to arouse the wrath of Sen. Eastland.

It ought to be said, too, that even within the narrow field of curriculum development research, the federal grants present little to ignite the suspicious eye. About half of the $6-million budget is being invested in some promising experiments in "individually prescribed instruction," by which each child in a classroom proceeds at his own speed in each of his subjects. Other course material, subsidized with federal funds, has to do with biology, physics, geography and esoteric languages. Not even the most captious critic could complain.

Why, then, the reservations? The answer is simply that some powerful pressures are being exerted on Howe to subsidize the writing of the "right" kind of history and the "right" kind of basic readers.

Just a year ago, Adam Clayton Powell strongly hinted that he would like to see the commissioner refuse federal aid to localities that failed to adopt properly integrated textbooks. Howe politely declined, and Powell is no longer around town, but the pressure remains.

So far, the only federal grant that might raise an eyebrow is a $260,000 grant to the Carnegie Institute of Technology for the preparation of five courses in history and economics. Four of these are complete; the fifth, a high school history course known as "The American Experience," is expected next month.

A fast glance through Carnegie Tech's proposed course in "Comparative Political Systems," intended for the ninth-grade level, turns up little to fuss about. Yet the conservative is bound to note, with a sigh, that in this federally subsidized program, virtually all the recommended readings come from the works of certified liberals. There is a selection from the thoughts of Everett Dirksen, but otherwise the liberals prevail. Benjamin Muse, for example, writes of the late Harry Byrd.

Let us maintain the vigilant eye. Wrongly administered, a $100-million program of federal research in education could exert a paralyzing influence on the minds of American children. Howe's administration appears to be impeccable. So far, one reflects; so far.

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Billy Graham and LBJ

By PAUL HARVEY

Three Presidents have sought Billy Graham's friendship; one has sought his counsel; this one has sought his support.

And didn't get it.

President Johnson, reared in the school of two-way political back-scratching, construes aloofness from such politicking as a personal affront.

The President attended Billy Graham meetings early in his Administration, invited Ruth and Billy Graham to weekends at the White House, expected reciprocity.

But the evangelist could not support all White House policies because he does not agree with them.

He would not serve as a presidential appointee on the civil rights investigative commission because, "My mission is to preach. . . ."

Graham declined to go to Viet Nam as an election observer, "because of prior commitments in Canada and the United States."

Dr. Graham's advisers have insisted that if he is to preach separation of church and state, he must practice it. He is known to admire Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan but neither has sought his endorsement. Indeed, Nixon probably paid with the presidency for his advice to Billy "not to get mixed up in partisan politics."

But where Graham was a friend and golfing companion of both Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy, President Johnson is inclined to equate companionship with campaigning.

During Billy Graham's "Heart of America Crusade" in Kansas City, President Johnson flew to Kansas City—to address the Association of Police Chiefs. The President made a side trip to visit former President Truman. He did not attend the Crusade.

Indeed, in the President's address to the police chiefs he seemed to go out of his way to say that he does not think morality is declining in the United States.

That night Billy Graham directly challenged the President's statement, referring his audience to the "floodtide of pornography on newsstands, the rising rate of illegitimacy, the increase in venereal disease," and he cited FBI statistics confirming that crime is increasing in the United States seven times faster than our population is increasing, 17 per cent the first half of this year. "The fact is that we are on a moral toboggan slide!"

This is not to suggest that there is open animosity between the President and the evangelist; there is not. Billy Graham said recently, "I have affection for the President . . . but this does not imply that I approve of all government policies."

Retiring Walter Lippmann's parting counsel to his colleagues was that there should always be a certain amount of "air space" between newsmen and newsmakers. Similarly, if they are to practice what they preach, clergymen must allow for a comparable insulation between themselves and elected officials. Graham recognizes this rule of professional hygiene; President Johnson seems to resent it.

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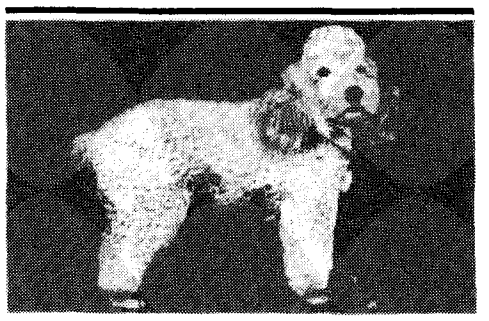

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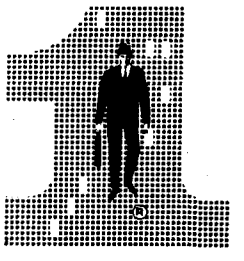

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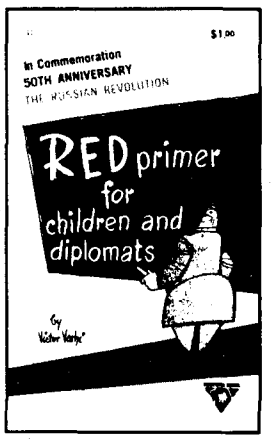

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Is There a Conservative Majority?

By M. STANTON EVANS

Talk with certain Republican politicians these days and you get the distinct impression that "conservative" is a swearword. Liberal Republicans have never been very partial to it, of course. But even some GOP officeholders who are themselves essentially conservative now seem reluctant to use the term.

"I prefer to say I'm in favor of good Republican principles"—that or something like it is a frequent answer to questions of ideological style. The idea seems to be that, since the 1964 loss of Barry Goldwater, "conservatism" is a political albatross, mere mention of which will alienate voters. Better to be plain garden variety "Republican."

Analysis of public opinion surveys suggests that should this attitude persist and spread it could be fatal to Republican aspirations. For the ironic fact is that all the available evidence shows there are far more people in the United States who call themselves conservative than there are Republicans. It is "Republican," not "conservative," which is the unpopular designation.

On the same evidence, the overt liberalism of the self-styled "moderate" Republicans is even more mistaken. The polls indicate that an effort to endorse or emulate Democratic proposals for "accommodation" abroad or welfarism at home will screen out key issues that could engender Republican success and foreclose major opportunities for the GOP.

The present writer grants—indeed, insists on—the fallibility of such polls. The variation in the figures, the acknowledged margin of error, the mistakes of '48 and '64, are warning enough. But as general guides to public attitudes, the polls are obviously useful; and since they have seldom been accused of bias toward conservatism, pro-conservative findings by them have the special kind of utility we grant to admissions against interest.

So, against that backdrop, how popular is the term "conservative"? The truth is that it has far more acceptance—by as much as a 2-to-1 margin, depending on which figures you use—than does the term "Republican." Current surveys show barely one-quarter of the American people now consider themselves Republicans. A far higher percentage, up to one-half the electorate, think of themselves as conservatives.

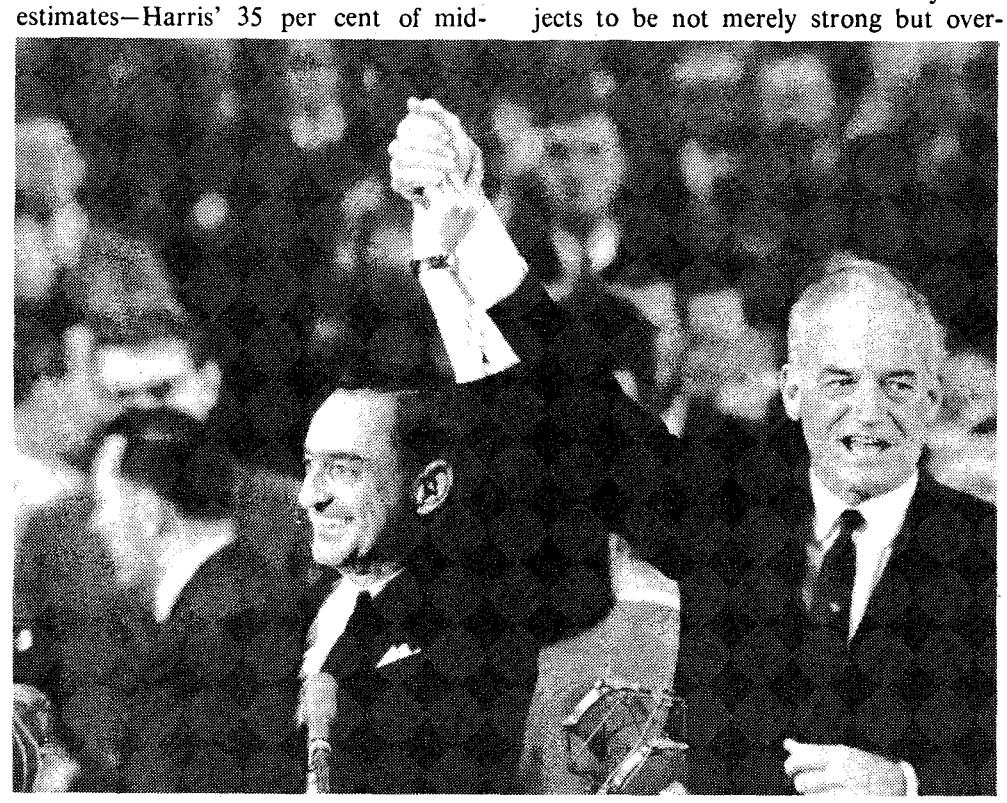
In an interview last September—two full years after the Goldwater campaign—Dr. George Gallup remarked that conservative sentiment in America seemed to be on the increase, and added: "The country is split about evenly between 'conservatives' and 'liberals.' Strangely enough, the word 'conservative' doesn't carry the onus that the word 'Republican' does."

Gallup's finding is confirmed, with different figures but similar conclusions, by other national surveys. A 1964 canvass conducted by the Opinion Research Corp. showed 48 per cent of those responding considered themselves to be Democrats, while only 26 per cent said they were Republicans. But when the question was posed in terms of conservative-liberal designations, the conservatives came out well in front—41 per cent choosing the label as opposed to 31 per cent who called themselves "liberals," with 28 per cent saying they were "in between."

Parallel data emerge from the surveys of Louis Harris, most liberal of the pollsters. Although Harris unsurprisingly chooses to read the evidence as a rebuke to conservatives, his own figures show the conservative position is considerably stronger than the liberal one. In a 1964 Harris Poll, 39 per cent of the respondents viewed themselves as conservatives, only 23 per cent as liberals, with 38 per cent saying they were "middle of the road."

In 1967 a similar Harris survey disclosed that 35 per cent of the respondents said they were conservatives as opposed to 17 per cent who chose the designation liberal, with 48 per cent saying they were "middle of the road."

Thus, if we take the lowest of these estimates—Harris' 35 per cent of mid-



Although in 1964 voters turned down the conservative ticket of Goldwater and Miller, pollsters indicate that Americans in general seem to agree with many conservative views on current issues.

1967—it becomes apparent that there are considerably more conservatives in the United States than there are Republicans. And if we take the highest—Gallup's 50-50 split as of September 1966—it appears there are twice as many conservatives as Republicans.*

Why, then, do the liberals keep electing Presidents? The chief answer seems to be that American elections are not ideological plebiscites, but highly complicated affairs in which popular sentiment is refracted through subcommunities and diffused by conflicting pressures. Also a factor is the difficulty of establishing political cause and effect (if you are angry about inflation or recession, whom do you blame?) and the demonstrated tendency of politicians to conduct their campaigns in terms irrelevant to ideology.

Equally important is the fact that conservatives, over the years, have been outclassed by the liberals in presenting their case to the public. The surveys suggest that American people have mixed political attitudes: They tend to take a conservative position on broad questions of government policy (more spending or less, more federal intervention or less), but on particular issues (federal aid to schools, Medicare) their views are heavily influenced by the emotive terms in which the matter is presented.

Also suggesting a failure in articulation is the fact that even when the public does take the conservative view on particular issues—and this has happened repeatedly—the electorate has not been convinced that these are more important than the contrary issues being pressed by the liberal Democrats.

It is interesting to note, for example, that a 1964 survey taken by Harris found conservatism on a number of key subjects to be not merely strong but overwhelming. Harris concluded that the voters agreed with Goldwater on prayer in the schools (88 per cent), government security regulations (94 per cent), the demoralizing effect of government welfare programs (60 per cent), and the general increase of government power (60 per cent).

The fact that this poll also showed the same voters getting ready to cast their ballots against the candidate who represented their views on these questions, and in favor of the candidate who opposed them, illustrates the difficulty of putting a strictly ideological interpretation on any given set of election results. That difficulty is further underlined by the observation of election statistician and former Census Bureau Chief Richard M. Scammon, that many voters felt Johnson was the "conservative" candidate and Goldwater the "radical" one.

An encouraging development for conservatives is that, in recent years, there seems to be more public concern over issues conservatives deem important, rather than less. This may in part be owing to an improvement in the conservative rhetoric, in part to the demonstrated inadequacy of various liberal programs. In either case, it suggests that opportunities for politically effective deployment of conservative principle are becoming increasingly numerous.

The Gallup organization, for example, has conducted polls, testing the relative concern of the public respecting "the biggest threat to the country in the future," posing the alternatives of "big business," "big labor," and "big government." A survey on the question in 1960 showed 15 per cent of the people thought big business was the principal "threat." Forty-one per cent gave the accolade to big labor, and only 14 per cent said their principal concern was the danger of big government.

In 1965 Gallup found the situation radically altered. In the later survey, 16 per cent said big business was the major threat, 28 per cent said big labor, and 37 per cent—more than twice the '60 figure—said big government. On that evidence, concern over big government is not only substantial but rapidly increasing.

The same sort of anxiety about government is reflected in a 1966 Opinion Research survey-in-depth on the subject of inflation. This poll found 84 per cent of the American people concerned about inflation, 67 per cent saying they had been hurt by it, and the same percentage saying that federal programs should be curtailed to halt the upward price spiral. Asked to choose between spending cuts and increased income taxes as a method for stopping inflation, 71 per cent favored decreased spending. Only 7 per cent thought the answer was to raise taxes.

These are obviously attitudes favorable to the conservative emphasis on economy, low taxes, and a halt to inflation. Further data in the poll underline, however, the need for further educational effort: Twenty-eight per cent of the respondents blamed government for inflation, but 13 per cent thought the responsible parties were "the people themselves," 10 per cent said labor unions, 6 per cent said big business, and a whopping 41 per cent said they didn't know who was responsible.

Interestingly enough, antagonism to taxes and inflation has been showing up in that segment of the public which is supposed to provide the welfare economy with its strongest support—the labor unions. A poll conducted by John F. Kraft Jr. for the national AFL-CIO, testing the attitudes of union members on various subjects, found U.S. workers to be far more conservative in their political attitudes than is usually assumed. The poll found 50 per cent of the union members now live in the suburbs and are deeply concerned about such issues as taxes, the spiraling cost of living, and crime in the streets.

The poll also reportedly showed that working men are less interested in the standard demands of the unions themselves—including such matters as compulsory unionism—than are their leaders. The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education comments about its suburban-oriented members: "Property taxes and sewer lines have bumped jobless-pay standards and minimum wage and other 'gut' issues."

These findings correspond to the discovery of Opinion Research, published in January 1966, that 36 per cent of union members responding to questions on right-to-work laws said they would vote for such a law in their state, 45 per cent said a company should not fire a worker because he refused to join a union, and 55 per cent said the federal government should not (as in the dispute over Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act) take away the right of the states to pass such laws.

Among the general public, as might be expected, support for all these ideas is much higher than it is among union members. In October 1965 the Gallup Poll found 47 per cent of the people saying a worker should not be required to join a union as a condition of employment, as opposed to 40 per cent who said he should. A July 1964 survey by Harris found 64 per cent of those responding favored federal "right-to-work" laws. And the Opinion Research analysis of January '66 found

Continued on page 14

Harris, a former pollster for President Kennedy, discussed his figures (particularly a corresponding set for rank-and-file Republicans) as evidence of a conservative decline between 1964 and 1967. He did not emphasize that, on his figures, the 'liberal' designation, already considerably smaller than the conservative, suffered the sharpest decline of all among Republicans, Democrats and Independents. He papers over this problem by equating the increased "middle-of-the-road" designation, which obviously corresponds to ORC's "in-between," with "moderate," which in today's political code means "liberal." Thus a fundamentally anti-liberal trend of thought is converted into a victory for liberalism.

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Typical of the madness described below by columnist Morrie Ryskind is the scene that took place in strife-torn Milwaukee. Above, police and newsmen wade through the mess left by "open housing" demonstrators in Mayor Henry Maier's office. The violent "sit-in" was climaxed by overturning and slashing chairs, tearing up of files and pasting bumper stickers and "Black Power" slogans on the walls. Despite this destruction, Roman Catholic priest James Groppi, head of the "open housing" drive, said, "I can understand what happened and I offer no apology whatsoever for the actions of the youths."

Explaining Our Values

Heraclitus Could Help Today

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I wasn't tops in my class, but I do remember that Heraclitus' basic philosophy could be summed up in two Greek words, *panta rhei*. Literally, that is "everything flows"—which was his way of saying the world was in constant flux.

You said it, Heraclitus! But if the world looked that kerflummoxed back in 500 B.C., you ought to get a load of it now when manners and morals and law and religion and everything else shift daily.

Daily? Make that hourly. You have to get the latest edition of your paper to determine whether any given course is either ethical or legal. That it was both at noon is no criterion for 6 p.m.

What with the Supreme Court, Dr. Martin Luther King, Dr. Leary and Father Groppi reinterpreting the Constitution (and so negating it), a body finds it hard to know what is right and what is wrong. I know a cop who won't go after a hold-up man until he's consulted Robert's Rules of Order for the proper parliamentary procedure.

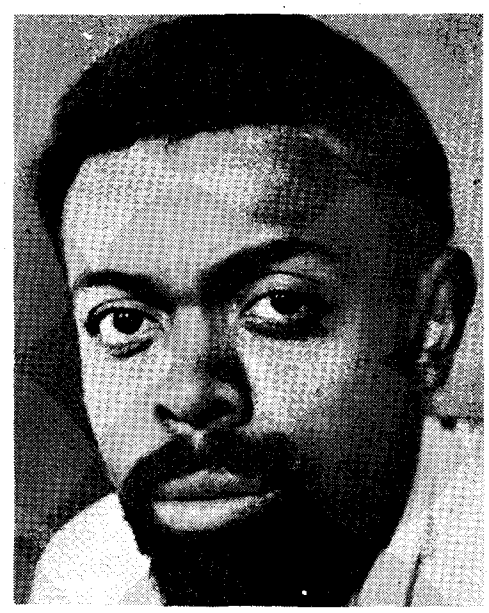
At the moment, he's in traction at the hospital, since the thug fired at him while he was leafing through the Rules. But he's taking it cheerfully and studying one of those quick reading courses which teach you to read 2,000 words a minute. "Next time," he says, "I'll be able to find what I want in a jiffy."

Still, he's better off than his fellow-officer who shot the hold-up man. This second cop was immediately charged with police brutality and has been temporarily suspended while it is decided whether his action was justified. In addition, the American Civil Liberties Union may file a civil suit against him for acting uncivilly to a civilian engaged in pursuing his profession.

Rumor has it the defense will claim the officer had been brainwashed into believing it was a cop's job to get his man. That primitive notion may work for the Royal Northwest Mounted, but this is America, where criminals' rights now supersede all others'.

E.g., a short while back a mischievous 21-year-old was arrested for raping and killing a 75-year-old grandmother. He is free now, because he was so innocent he confessed without being told of his right to an attorney. Now there's real change, Heraclitus. Some things in ancient Greece weren't precisely kosher, but I doubt you can match that.

And not long ago, there was a riot in a Midwestern prison. And what was the main complaint? Well, the residents



Playwright LeRoi Jones was arrested during the Newark riots for carrying firearms.

were getting ice cream only on Sundays—so they naturally demonstrated. At the conference table they settled for twice weekly—but you can't hold progress back. At the next bargaining session, they'll get pie a la mode daily—the first step toward rehabilitation.

But the really big change is in Education. Remember LeRoi Jones, the colored four-letter playwright who got a Guggenheim Fellowship? He wrote *The Toilet*, which fully lived up to its title, and was then given some $50,000 or so by the anti-poverty boys to put on his plays in Harlem and bring his culture to that deprived area.

He did just that, producing plays which urged that "Whitey" be killed. And followed his preaching by appearing at the Newark riots, where he was arrested for the possession of loaded firearms.

This is one Jones really hard to keep up with. He next shows up on the campus of San Francisco State College as a "visiting Professor." And they said Gov. Reagan's cuts in education would prevent California from getting good teachers!

Currently, another of his incredibly filthy plays (I have just read it) is showing in the Negro neighborhoods of San Francisco—which is okay with me. But what isn't okay is that the play is financed by funds collected as mandatory fees from every student at S. F. State, a college supported by all California taxpayers. And, since that includes me, I want to know what the hell has been going on.

Don't get me wrong, Heraclitus. I can accept change—and right now I'd like to see a whopping big one made at S. F. State—one that would stop taxpayers' money going to support garbage of this sort in the name of Education. And when I say garbage, that goes for every administrator that permitted such goings-on.

Academic freedom—my foot!

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BOOK NOTES

A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers

That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it, nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

THE EDITORS

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THE DRAGON'S EMBRACE: The Chinese Communists and Africa by Emanuel John Hevi (Praeger, 152 pages, $5.95).

"Emmanuel John Hevi is a Ghanaian who went to Communist China in 1960 to study medicine at Peking University on a Chinese scholarship. He was one of the leaders of the revolt of African students which led to their exodus from China in the spring of 1962. . . . Hevi's scholarship turned out to be a very bad investment for the Chinese Communists, for he came away thoroughly disillusioned with what propaganda pictured as Mao's model society.

"He also had his eyes opened to the significance of the Communists' interest in his native Ghana and in Africa in general. This led to his investigation of Communist, especially Chinese Communist, subversive efforts in Africa. **The Dragon's Embrace** is a description of the Communist strategy and tactics and a warning to Africans, and to interested Westerners as well, to be on guard against them. . . . A very interesting feature of Hevi's book is the forceful refutation of the Communist line that colonialism caused Africa's backwardness and poverty. . . . He observes that the Europeans were a powerful civilizing force in Africa, economically, culturally and politically. Moreover, he is impatient with those Africans who are silent about native despotisms while they declaim against the oppression of the colonialist past or fiercely denounce the absence of perfect democracy in Rhodesia."—Reed J. Irvine in the Washington **Evening Star**

PRIVACY AND FREEDOM by Alan F. Westin (Atheneum, 487 pages, $10).

"Five years in the writing, Alan F. Westin's massive study of privacy in the United States—what it was meant to be, and what is happening to it—may well rank among the most important books of this decade. His theme is the continuing conflict between the outer world and the inner man; his conclusion is that the outer world is winning. The tools already exist for an Orwellian triumph of science over personal privacy. . . .

"There are forces in American society—and not all of them sinister—that are eager to put these glittering tools to use. Law enforcement agencies, struggling against crime rates now soaring out of sight, plead that electronic surveillance devices are vital to their work. Reputable social and political planners, promoting a 'Federal Data Bank,' deny that they wish to intrude upon man's privacy; they wish merely to serve society more efficiently.

"The scientists now tinkering with brain-wave scanners defend their research as scientists always have: their quest to know is boundless. Businessmen see only the convenience and not the perils of computerized trade and banking, in which the consumer becomes a number on magnetized tape.

"Prof. Westin sensibly rejects the doctrinaire view which would prohibit every action that might be described as an invasion of privacy. The right to privacy, he agrees, is not an absolute right; it is subject, as the 4th Amendment tells us, to reasonable abridgment in the common good. He is skeptical of the need professed by police for bugs and wiretaps, but he does not propose that these devices be denied to law enforcement altogether; he asks only for the tight controls and strict accountability defined by the Supreme Court this past June in **Berger vs. New York**. . . .

"It is absurd to deny the police the use of a wiretap to catch a kidnapper. It is equally absurd to permit a federal agency to inquire through personality tests into the sex dreams of a clerk-typist. . . .

"The task of accommodating man's need for personal privacy with his need for public security is not impossible. It demands of our policy-makers primarily an awareness that the invading forces are so well equipped, and so far advanced along the Orwellian road."—James J. Kilpatrick in **Saturday Review**

ECONOMICS OF ABUNDANCE by Francis L. Maus (Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, 141 pages, $1.75. Order directly from publisher.)

In the tradition of Frederic Bastiat, the author has produced a straightforward, understandable primer on the natural laws of economics. Mr. Maus, a Midwestern businessman, writes with canny insight into the workings of the free market. This thin volume is divided into three inquiries into the Law of Work, the Law of Exchange and the Law of Abundance.

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Want Lower Food Prices

California Housewives March Against Unions

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

By modern standards, it's no longer a naughty tale—the one by Aristophanes, called *Lysistrata*, about how the women once stopped a war between Athens and Sparta. The ladies simply withdrew their favors until the men quit squabbling—and American matrons have been testing the methods ever since, with variations.

As recently as early September of this year, the Homemakers of California for Lower Prices, Inc., were marching in Los Angeles picket lines—not against their husbands, lovers or grocers, but against the Teamsters Union. How this movement will progress, no mere man can say, but the switch is significant. Until lately, the housewives were threatening to boycott the supermarkets, a symbol of profit-taking enterprise, and they were being egged on by ladies in the hire of LBJ.

First, he had Mrs. Esther Peterson as White House advisor on consumer affairs, and now he has Miss Betty Furness. Neither of them had much success in fixing the blame for living-cost inflation, but along comes a Mrs. Joy Walden, head of the Homemakers for Lower Prices. She may make a mark in history by dramatizing the rise of American womanhood against the labor bosses.

If she does, I may get an obscure footnote, because I was on the edge of the drama-making. When the Teamsters, who pretty well control food-transportation in California, demanded a 66 per cent increase in contractual obligations and threatened to strike the food wholesalers of that state, a delegation came to Washington for help. The Food Employers' Council, headed by a robust personality, Robert K. Fox, laid the facts before Miss Furness and entreated her to sit in as an observer of the negotiations. She gave them the

White House consumer adviser Betty Furness would rather have high prices blamed on businessmen.

well-known brushoff, and I was also to interview Mr. Fox soon afterwards.

He said that his case against the Teamsters would stand or fall in the open-air court of public opinion, and he admittedly was trying to get the attention of the Washington press corps. What he got was something better, the uprising of California housewives. The Homemakers Union, for close to 15 years, has been a lobbying and pressure group, not given to picketing. But under Mrs. Walden they have hit the street in small groups at the Teamsters' regional headquarters in Los Angeles.

Federal mediators are now trying to prevent a strike by the union which, I'm told, would automatically close 90 per cent of the retail food outlets in the biggest state in the nation. Anybody is privileged to choose his own statistician in these debates on food prices. I am using Prof. Arthur Gutenberg of the University of Southern California. He made his figures available at the request of the wholesalers, but I presume he is faithfully translating the data of the Labor and Agriculture Departments, and applying the information to the California dispute.

A typical cut of meat in southern California, now selling for 71 cents, would sell for 6.5 cents more if the Teamsters get the three-year contract under discussion. The labor factor, including farm labor, in this pound of beef, now 43 per cent, would rise to 71 per cent.

A typical fruit-and-vegetable basket, costing $1, would cost 11.5 cents more if the Teamster demands are met in full, without any increased profit for the farmer or the processor.

A small loaf of bread, now costing 27 cents, represents 5 cents to the farmer, and represents 22 cents about evenly divided between labor costs and other marketing costs. If the Teamsters get their demands, the loaf would sell for 5.5 cents more, and the labor share in the transaction would rise from close to 50 per cent to more than 80 per cent.

These three examples will suffice to show why the California housewives, in their wisdom, have spared the farmer, spared the businessman, but turned their anger against organized labor in a modern version of the old Greek play.

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DEFICIT SPENDING is like burning the planks of your life raft to keep warm.

Continued from page 12

Is There a Conservative Majority?

public attitudes, by anywhere from a 2-to-1 margin, in favor of voluntary unionism in all its aspects.

These conclusions about domestic issues are matched by conservative public attitudes on questions of foreign policy.

A clear majority of the American people as of mid-1967 took a "hawk" position on Viet Nam. A Harris Poll showed 58 per cent of the respondents wanted an increased military effort, as opposed to 36 per cent who wanted stepped-up attempts to achieve a negotiated settlement. Seventy-two per cent favored continued bombing of North Viet Nam and 48 per cent wanted ground invasion of the north.

On other foreign policy questions, the Opinion Research Poll of '64 discovered a number of attitudes. Some 45 per cent said American policy toward Moscow should be "tougher" as opposed to 38 per cent who said it should be "more friendly." Sixty-three per cent expressed disapproval of foreign aid, and 51 per cent opposed trade with the Communists, while 36 per cent said such trade should be permissible.

Finally, 78 per cent of the respondents in this survey said stopping "the spread of communism" was the foreign policy question which concerned them most, and another 68 per cent said that "in matters such as Viet Nam and Cuba we should take more positive action." These are, quite clearly, foreign policy attitudes in line with the conservative position.

All in all, the data show a broad ideological constituency for the conservative position, exactly contrary to the widespread notion of insistent popular liberalism. They reveal that the American people are worried about the same problems that worry conservatives, and will respond favorably to an explicitly conservative approach, intelligently presented, on such themes as resistance to Communist aggression and the growth of government.

Many possible conclusions could be premised on this evidence, but two in particular suggest themselves:

• If Republicans drop the word "conservative" from their vocabularies, they will be abandoning a popular term in order to make do with an unpopular one—not a very effective method of building political strength; and

• If Republicans fail to attack such things as trade with the enemy and the "War on Poverty," they will be abandoning issues on which the concern of the American people is deep and has in recent years become increasingly acute.

Conservative CLASSIFIED CORNER

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Investigate IRS

By REP. JAMES SMITH (R.-Okla.)

I have asked for a proper investigation under impartial direction to probe the charges made by *Reader's Digest* against the Internal Revenue Service. The so-called probe by the subcommittee consisted only of testimony by witnesses representing the Internal Revenue Service and some letters praising them. None of the individuals who allegedly had been damaged by the actions of the government agency was present. Nor was anybody present from the *Reader's Digest*, although information was offered to the chairman. I have asked for a proper investigation to be made where additional complaints of taxpayers around the country can be heard.

TFX Scandal

By REP. JACK EDWARDS (R.-Ala.)

The Department of Defense is refusing to give Congress a report on the status of the TFX airplane. But enough facts are known so that the best-informed congressmen are gravely concerned. The TFX project is now five years old, two years behind schedule, and three times more costly than planned. And the result will not be the plane it was supposed to be. By this time the new weapons system was supposed to be ready for action, such as we face in Viet Nam today. Instead of costing $2.9 million each, the cost has already gone up to $8 million and probably will go even higher. It is turning out to be a multi-billion-dollar scandal of the Johnson Administration.

Congress in Dark

By REP. HAROLD COLLIER (R.-Ill.)

Here is another example of what happens when government gets so big it becomes virtually impossible for Congress to see that all of the sprawling programs and agencies are being properly conducted. Recently $2 billion in arms sales—and I repeat $2 *billion*, not million—were financed by Export-Import Bank credits without even knowledge of the members of the committee which has jurisdiction in the House. As I have said repeatedly in the past, Congress must re-establish its proper role in government and reassume its constitutional responsibilities. In recent years much of this authority was relinquished to the executive branch of government, which in turn handed it to the mushrooming agencies. There has been some slight indication in recent weeks that perhaps Congress is going to be more reluctant in the future to abdicate its constitutional powers and responsibilities.

Campaign Financing Pitfalls

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

The United States Senate has come to grips with the difficult and touchy question of campaign financing by passing a bill requiring complete revelation of all campaign expenditures in both general and primary elections and removing unrealistic ceilings on campaign spending.

Under present law, primaries, which actually amount to a final election in many Southern states and which result in very heavy spending in other states, are exempt from reporting requirements. But the primary is a very important part of the elective process and expenditures in such campaigns should be public knowledge.

The present law is also farcical in its restriction of the amount a congressional candidate can spend to three cents for each vote cast in the last general election, or a maximum of $5,000. When one considers that television spots average about $100 each, a very modest political advertisement in each of the district newspapers costs more than $1,000, and one mailing costs almost $10,000, it is easy to see how ridiculous such a limit is.

So, both parties follow the practice of forming committees which spend campaign money, thereby allowing the candidate to stay within the legal limit. This is proper and legal, but, in my opinion, rather ridiculous. If enacted into law, the Senate bill will remove this useless "ceiling" and require a full disclosure instead.

Personally, I would like to see the Senate bill go much further. Each candidate for federal office should be required to designate a committee or financial organization to handle all funds connected with the campaign and should not personally handle political funds. I have always *followed this practice and find it is* no disadvantage whatsoever. Such a rule could do much to improve public confidence in political campaigns.

Though I do not believe a public servant should be required to assume the burden of proof of his innocence and have his privacy invaded by requiring revelation of his purely personal financial affairs, I do believe he should completely reveal all financial transactions which are concerned with his official status. Campaign contributions, honorariums for speaking engagements, writing for which he is paid a fee, receipts from testimonial dinners, and every other financial transaction which is connected with campaigning for or holding office should be completely revealed.

In the few cases which have occupied the headlines, most of the wrongdoing has been connected with this type of transaction. A requirement for complete revelation could prevent future cases like that for which Sen. Dodd was censured.

Public office is indeed a public trust and the Congress has a responsibility to place campaign information squarely in the public spotlight. As one who has been following such a practice throughout 17 years of public life, I can state that it has not hampered me one iota in my political pursuits. It won't hurt the Congress, but it will certainly help its public image.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• The Senate Finance Committee heard some demonstrative testimony last week in its deliberations on the **Social Security Amendments** (HR 12080). A group of hostile mothers on welfare "sat-in" on the committee for over two hours, demanding the Senate drop from the bill the House-passed welfare recipient restrictions, such as excluding from the relief rolls adults and youths who refuse work "without good cause"; then AFL-CIO President George Meany showed up to request an increase in Social Security benefits from the House-approved 12.5 per cent hike to 15 or 20 per cent. Senate liberals will push for both changes and they are considered likely to succeed; the bill would then go to conference for hashing over.

• Organized labor's pet legislative project for the 90th Congress, the **Situs Picketing Bill** (HR 100), is expected to clear the House Rules Committee shortly and move onto the House floor where it faces stiff opposition. The measure has been termed "possibly the most controversial bill the House has been asked to consider this year," by Rules Committee Chairman Rep. William Colmer (D.-Miss.), principally because the bill would permit massive union picketing of a building site even though a labor dispute involved only one union. House conservatives are opposing the measure due to the coercive power it would grant labor, and many liberals are reluctant to back it as long as building and construction trades unions continue to practice racial discrimination.

• The Administration's drastically revised **Foreign Aid Bill** (S 1872) remains in a House-Senate conference committee, where legislators are expected to approve a compromise aid appropriation of $2.7 billion. (LBJ had asked for $3.4 billion, but both the Senate and House wielded a big axe.) Liberals on the committee are expected to move to scuttle the amendment added by Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.), suspending any tariff concessions to Communist Poland (under the "most-favored-nation" clause) as long as it continues to provide weapons to North Viet Nam; this ban would be a set-back for both he President's "bridge building" program for Red satellites and the congressional liberals anxious to salvage some form of "victory" for the Administration in the aid dispute.

• House debate is now scheduled for the Senate-passed **Public Broadcasting Act** (HR 6736), originally called the public television act. The measure contains provision for creation of a Comsat-like "public corporation" (albeit largely financed with federal funds) to help set up educational TV stations and produce TV programs in direct competition with independent, privately owned outlets; congressional conservatives have argued that the bill is a major step toward federal "thought control" by a liberal elite.

• The tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee is still considering the Administration's demands for a **10 per cent surcharge** on individual and corporate tax payments, but so far the committee seems unimpressed with government officials and economists who claim that unless the Congress passes the tax hike the federal deficit will rise to $29 billion in fiscal 1968. Bolstered by strong voter sentiment, Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) and ranking Republican John Byrnes of Wisconsin insist the government must first wield on axe on its own spending programs before any tax boost will ever be contemplated.

• The Senate last week approved a $537-million **model cities program** and a $40-million **rent supplement proposal**. More frugal with the taxpayer's dollar, the House had previously pared the model cities funding to about half the Senate figure and had refused to approve any sums for the rent supplement plan. The difference between versions will now be ironed out in conference.

• By a 10-to-7 vote, the Senate Finance Committee has approved a broad-gauged bill to **fund presidential** and **congressional campaigns**, including $14 million to finance each of the major parties' 1968 presidential campaign expenses, $26.4 million for 1968 Senate campaign expenditures and a 50 per cent tax credit for campaign gifts up to a maximum credit of $25. Sens. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) and Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio) have both assailed the bill, protesting that it is full of loopholes, would be impossible to administer, and has been offered at the worst possible time, since the federal deficit of next year may be as high as $30 billion (see next page).

• The Administration is waging an all-out campaign to block the House from adopting **Red-trade restrictions** which the Senate has attached to the Export-Import Bank legislation. In recent hearings before the House Banking and Currency Committee, high-ranking Administration officials aimed their fire at two Senate amendments: the Byrd (Va.) proposal, which would bar the bank from providing loans or guarantees to nations whose governments furnish goods to North Viet Nam; and the Mundt restriction, which would kill plans to have the bank participate in the proposed sale of high-quality American machine tools to the huge automobile plant Italy's Fiat Co. is building in the Soviet Union. The House Rules Committee is still studying the Export-Import Bank legislation and reportedly plans to send it to the floor for a vote in the near future. Readers should write their congressman, asking him to back the Byrd-Mundt amendments.

• The Senate Judiciary Committee is considering special **anti-riot legislation** passed by the House (HR 421) that would make it a federal crime for persons crossing state lines to incite violence. Amendments to toughen the bill have been offered by Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.), who would increase penalties that could be levied on rioters (from 10 to 20 years and from $10,000 to $20,000 in fines). Expectations are that the bill will pass but not without a fierce fight from some of the liberals, including the brothers Kennedy.

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$54 Million in Taxes

Another Plan to Subsidize Politicians

From the Chicago *Tribune*

A new plan to nick the taxpayers for election campaign expenses has been approved by the Democratic majority of the Senate Finance Committee. The cost for the 1968 election would be at least $54 million, taken out of tax money.

The bill would make available $14 million in federal tax funds to each of the two major party candidates for President and $26 million to the candidates in 34 Senate races. The subsidy costs would be higher if House candidates also got on the gravy train.

There are several objections to this scheme. One of them was stated by Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.), who was one of the leaders in a fight to repeal an earlier measure to provide a government-financed political slush fund. He said:

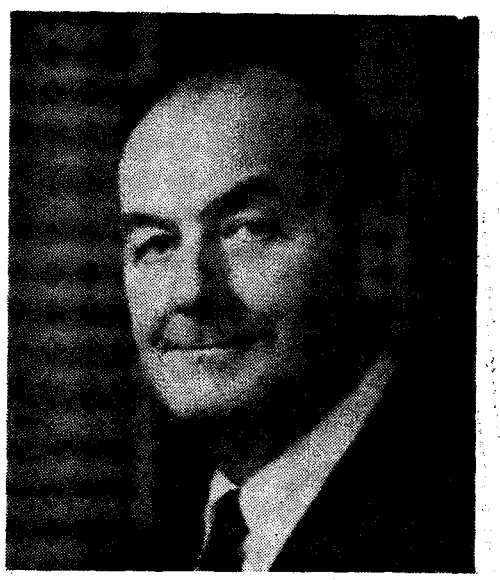
"At a time when the federal deficit is $25 to $30 billion and we're talking about increasing taxes, it's unbelievable that Congress and the Administration would ask their grandchildren to finance the 1968 election. The money isn't in the Treasury."

Sen. Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio) says the new measure is "against good conscience, it's *unjust*, it's wicked . . . and an insult to the intelligence of every taxpayer in the United States."

Another objection to the plan is that it would not do much to reduce over-all expenditures in presidential campaigns or to eliminate the advantage which rich candidates now have. Much of the spending is on the campaigns for the nomination.

The Finance Committee's bill would apply only to the two months before election day. During that period the candidates would have a choice: either continue spending privately collected funds for the remainder of the campaign, or stop spending such money and use the federal tax funds.

The committee's proposal is a variant of a scheme sponsored by Sen. Russell B. Long of Louisiana, the Finance Committee chairman, which was slipped through Congress at the close of the 1966 session. Under the Long plan each federal income taxpayer could mark a box on his return authorizing the use of $1 of his taxes for election expenses. This proposal aroused much opposition



Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) asks how Congress can consider spending millions on campaigns at a time when it is considering raising taxes to help cover a $30-million deficit.

and Congress voted to suspend its operation.

The Finance Committee's latest plan includes a variant of the Long checkoff. The bill would permit income taxpayers to subtract up to $25 from their annual tax bill for contributions to political candidates at any level.

Encouraging small contributions to political campaigns is a good idea. The high proportion of small gifts made to the Republican party in 1964 was a feature of that campaign. The party received 651,000 individual contributions of $100 or less. The Treasury Department estimates that the proposed income tax credits would amount to $50 million or more in 1968. The total cost of the proposed subsidy, therefore, would be more than $100 million. As Sen. Williams says, "The money isn't in the Treasury."

The subsidy bill is designed to be a companion to another measure before the Senate which tightens the rules for reporting of campaign expenditures. The present laws set limits on the spending of candidates for federal offices, but the laws are evaded by setting up committees supporting the candidates.

The reform bill would require reporting from all political committees and the committees would have to report the full names and addresses of contributors. Contributors would have to report not only gifts of money but loans and other things of value.

Democrats on the Senate Finance Committee want to consolidate this desirable bill with the new plan for campaign subsidies. The result is likely to be no bill at all.

Campaign funds are at the center of the ethics problem now disturbing both houses of Congress. The best hope of making campaigns more honest is a strict law requiring disclosure of contributors. Such a law deserves to be considered on its merits, not as part of an unwise scheme for campaign fund subsidies.

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TWO-YEAR TREATIES—"An historian has reported that the approximately 7,500 'eternal' treaties signed between nations from 1500 B.C. and 1850 A.D. lasted an average of two years each. Modern international treaties are not noted for long life, either."—By Rep. John Dowdy (D.-Tex.)

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